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BCP Central Committee Plenum Continues 2d Day

AU1212142589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] At the beginning of the midday newscast, we contact once more the reporters' room in the Boyana Residence in Sofia, where the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is continuing for its second day. Tsveti Gerov reports as follows:

[Begin recording] [Gerov] The plenum is continuing with the discussion of the report delivered by Comrade Petur Mladenov on the state of the country and immediate tasks. I should stress that the points made did not so much concern the report as a whole, but rather its quality and exhaustive precision, as well as the perspicacity and personal qualities of the man who delivered the report. I hope that the practice of idle boasting followed until recently has disappeared irrevocably along with the previous regime, which met its demise on 10 November. What is more, from the very beginning of today's session and in the course of the debates, more than one call was made to discuss the real and immediate problems, to debate them responsibly, and not repeat the style and words of 20 years ago.

How did the serious and profound crisis, the social tension in our society, and the distortion of our entire development come about? This question was asked on several occasions yesterday, and is also on today's agenda. Many of those who have spoken so far indeed have not passed it by, but are adding real content to the truth about the permitted distortions, and the problems that have accumulated from different fields; they are responsibly expressing their own views and making demands and proposals, such as the following: to purge the party apparatus as a matter of urgency of corrupted people; to reduce the party apparatus to the minimum number required for its normal political functioning; to perfect the mechanism for building up the companies, with their leaders being elected; to convene the extraordinary BCP congress earlier than on 26 March; and the proposal that a more categorical stance should be adopted in the party program and our Constitution toward the fundamental premise concerning property. This formed part of the proposal made by Vladimir [word indistinct], Kiril Petkov, and Georgi Kostov.

In his speech, Luchezar Avramov expressed the view that party leaders must not be permitted to be leaders in the state apparatus or economic enterprises. The party, he said, must free itself of cooperative directive and management functions, and to (?direct) its activity toward everything that will make it a genuine ideological vanguard of the people. Yancho Georgiev emphasized that the party's present condition can be described in two words: criticism and hope. The party is the epicenter of general and specific criticism, criticism from everywhere on the well-known phenomena that occurred throughout the entire period since 9 September 1944. However, alongside this, there also exists hope, accompanied by doubts, on the part of the whole of the people, who understand that at present there exists no other political force capable of maintaining equilibrium in society and leading it out of the crisis. This hope must be confirmed by real deeds and real results.

For his part, Dr Evgeni Apostolov spoke about the serious condition of our health care, the high incidence of disease, the high death rate among people at ages of creative activity. The reasons for this, in his view, are tied up more with the rates of social development, especially of health care, rather than with the rates of economic development.

In subjecting the present fundamental problems of agriculture to severe criticism, Konstantin Rusinov proposed that the money from profits intended for investment should be freed from taxes. In addition, through changes in the system of making deductions from profits, a 25-percent profitability should be ensured for agriculture in order to increase its ability to finance itself.

Dimitur Popov, Ilcho Dimitrov, and Stoyan Zhulev also spoke, and at the moment Georgi Atanasov is speaking:

[Atanasov] Together with the whole public we are making a political assessment of the past. Our desire to be both uncompromising and democratic, not to replace one intolerable thing with another, one form of infallibility with another, is quite understandable . Now, when the monopoly on truth has been lifted in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we cannot fail to see that the negative processes that developed in our country at one stage were not a purely Bulgarian phenomenon; they did not arise solely because of our own understanding and possibilities.

Yes, we may forgive many errors from the past when the delusions of the party and leaderships were delusions of the whole world of socialism, but we cannot and we must not forgive Todor Zhivkov for the fact that he brought the regime of personal power to the most distorted manifestations, that he undermined the prestige and the deeds of the party in the face of the democratic public and in our face.

Comrades, at this plenum the party is adopting the establishment of a socialist market economy through the implementation of a profound economic and social reform as its stategic task. This great change in our concepts is by no means accidental. The analysis unequivocally shows that the symptoms of disease in our economy are the results of principles and approaches to economic life stemming from substantial [word indistinct] delusions, from gross voluntarism in everyday life and in the national economy. The basic political concept of reform is by far not exhausted with overcoming erroneous ways of thinking. We are adopting actions likely to renew the essence of our social life, because a reform is discussed which, based on pluralistic ownership and variety of interests, is called upon to create the economic foundations of democracy in our country.

Such a reform can be implemented only in a democratic manner, based on the principle of social consent and with the active participation of all citizens and organizations that are being consulted.

Can we hope to accomplish a drastic change without telling people the truth about the state and.... [end recording] [Announcer states that further reports on the plenum will be carried in upcoming programs]

Dragoycheva Letter

AU1212145889 Sofia BTA in English 1127 GMT 12 Dec 89

["Revelations About Todor Zhivkov"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—In a letter Ms Tsola Dragoycheva has sent to the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which started here yesterday she characterizes the decisions of the latest plenums of the CC of the BCP as a political and personnel revolution.

Ninety-one-year-old Tsola Dragoycheva, BCP leader of long standing, active participant in the anti-fascist struggle and Politburo member until 1984, is not taking part in the present plenum for reasons of health.

At last our party got rid of a whole group of nobodies, self-servers and power-lovers who made up the circle of Todor Zhivkov's closest followers and who contributed to a great degree to the assertion of his personal dictatorship in the party, she writes.

Ms Dragoycheva sketches "a portrait of Bulgarian authoritarianism" as seen from the inside: "I was a Politburo member for 20 years and I have intimate knowledge of the total deformation of all natural criteria and measures applied in assessing people and things, of the violations of Lenin's principles of leadership. I will not reveal any secret if I confirm that the Politburo, which is called upon by its statute to be the supreme collective brain of the party, was turned by Zhivkov into a screen for his absolute power".

She accuses Zhivkov of falsifying the history of the party for the purpose of securing for himself, with an old date, the biography of "a hero" of the anti-fascist struggle. "Besides Zhivkov exhibited signs of a strange, hardly explainable irritation whenever the problem of agents-provocateurs in our revolutionary movement before September 9, 1944 was raised. I had to wage a real war in order to include some facts about their sinister role in my memoirs," writes Dragoycheva, who is the author of several books of memoirs on the BCP anti-fascist struggle.

She reminds of some cases of outstanding leading figures from the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party who disagreed with Zhivkov's voluntaristic decisions. There was a serious conflict between Zhivkov and two other Politburo members, Dobri Dzhurov and Petur Mladenov. Had the sound forces in the party not intervened, they were sure to have shared the fate of those ousted or would have been befallen by an even harder lot," Dragoycheva says.

Tsola Dragoycheva, chairman of the Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship National Committee for many years, points out that Zhivkov "accepted" the significance the restructuring in the USSR has for Bulgaria only in words. His severe warning that "the Bulgarian specificity" must be preserved and that the "extremes and mistakes of the perestroika must not be copied blindly" are compared by her with "a curtain of words aimed at concealing the dread of a real, true restructuring in Bulgaria which would inevitably bring about the collapse of Zhivkov's personal dictatorship over the party, the state and the country."

She makes proposals for the creation of a strong, efficient mechanism for exercising permanent control over the power of all leading bodies, the secretary general included, and warns that in order to restore the vanguard role of the party "we must get ahead of the people's legitimate discontent, demands and aspirations by taking daring and adequate political measures." The people is still waiting, but it will not be for long. If we lose time, it will go out in the streets. And it will neither make demands or pleas nor it will insist. The people will impose its will by force, writes Tsola Dragoycheva, calling upon the new leadership to take decisive action and expressing her belief that the party will fulfil its historical mission.

Morning Session Ends

AU1212130189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has ended its morning session. A little before the session closed, the participants learned about the railway disaster near Roman Station. Profound condolences were extended to the families of the casualties, and a 4-minute silence was observed as a mark of respect for those killed in the accident.

A special commission has been set up to investigate the accident.

During the morning session today, 16 persons made speeches of the over 100 members and candidate members of the Central Committee who have put their names down to speak.

Afternoon Session Begins

AU1212151489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpts] We continue to follow the work of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum. Tsveti Gero reports from the reporters room:

[Begin Gerov recording] An hour ago, the afternoon session of the plenum began. It is chaired by Comrade Belcho Belchev. The first to take the floor were Goran Ninov, Krustyu Stanilov, Aleksandur Lilov, and Atanas

Dimitrov. The questions of the difficult economic situation in some industrial sectors were touched upon, and also questions of agriculture and the need to drastically enhance the role of the intelligentsia in processes of renewal. [passage omitted]

I will also dwell very briefly on some statements made at the end of the morning session. Stefan Angelov, candidate member of the BCP Committee, stressed the need to reevaluate party history and to restore certain suspended, specialized party publications that should discuss and analyze its policy under the present conditions. He proposed that the real role of the April 1956 Plenum should be analyzed and that the viewpoints of those who spoke at the plenum be examined, and he proposed that the present plenum's decisions should become a basis for discussion on [word indistinct] and that new relations between the party and the social and democratic movements should be established.

[Name indistinct], member of the BCP Central Committee, supported the proposals on establishing a mandate system based on no more than two terms of office. He spoke in favor of secret ballots in voting upon all leading party and state functions, and in favor of total glasnost in mass media.

Grudi Atanasov declared that he was coming to this plenum with the intention of being at least, to some extent, the exponent of the party veterans' troubles. We shall restore confidence and faith in the party not with nice words, but with practical deeds. One of his proposals was that the Central Committee should work with a minimum staff and employees on the payroll, and that young and talented people should be promoted to leading positions. The plenum continues. [end recording]

Lilov Speaks at Plenum

AU1212162589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] We continue to report on the proceedings at the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum: In our previous newscast we mentioned that Aleksandur Lilov was one of the speakers at the afternoon session.

The problem of the party's approach to the stormy social changes in the country and to the emerging movements and associations of citizens was one of the subjects of discussion. Let us hear part of Aleksandur Lilov's statement at the plenum:

[Begin Lilov recording] I am profoundly convinced that the party's correct policy related to this question is a policy of dialogue, a realistic, constructive, and well-mannered dialogue with all informal groups that are in favor of restructuring, of glasnost, that suppport the democratization of society, that are for ecological protection, and with those of them who are real patriots, regardless of their ideological, religious, and ethnic affiliation.

They can and must be our partners, and many of them should be our allies in the struggle for the renewal of socialist society in Bulgaria. The dialogue with them will be difficult, of course, but the other alternative would be confrontation, likely to lead to tragic consequences, as it happened in certain countries, and would be likely to result in a serious setback for restructuring, internal unity, and for Bulgaria's international prestige.

Naturally, we should by no means underestimate the destructive stands and the reactionary goals of certain forces in some of these groups. We should not conduct a dialogue, but wage a political struggle against them. We also cannot tolerate chaos, violence, provocations, and breaches of the law. This postulate is unmistakably clear and should be applied on the basis of our Constitution and our legislation. Nevertheless, a more alarming fact is that we, as a party have, not yet fully realized the urgent requirement for establishing normal relations with the informal groups and so far have failed to establish such relatuions. I think that today's report represents a great step forward and not only represents a package of essential and exceptionally important initiatives for the party's work in various spheres of our society's life, but also conveys a clear message to the constructive forces within the informal organizations. [end recording]

We shall further inform you on the progress of debates in subsequent news programs.

Further on Lilov

AU1312103089 Sofia BTA in English 2247 GMT 12 Dec 89

["BCP Must Find a Way Out of the Crisis" -BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The constitutional article on the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leading role has become an anachronism. The party's role as a political vanguard depends on its capability of finding a way out of the crisis, said Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, addressing the plenum of the CC of the BCP.

In his view, authoritarian-style socialism is going through a crisis. Its Bulgarian version was characterized by monstrous abuses which have resulted in great social strain covered up by demagoguery and repressions, Mr Lilov pointed out.

He emphasized that the political price of this has been the eroded confidence in the BCP and that the party must face up to the people's criticism. The extraordinary congress is the party's chance of creating prompt political, organisational and personnel conditions to get over the crisis.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov believes that the direct legacy of Todor Zhivkov's 33-year regime is the Zhivkov phenomenon itself as a degradation of party principles and ethics. The most important question to ask is why the

system breeds dictators and why it tolerates them for so long. New variations of the totalitarian-type party leaders and heads of state will invariably appear so long as the system is not democratized.

The culprits for the crisis should be named and they should be held politically and, in some cases, criminally liable in order to regain the people's confidence, Mr Aleksandur Lilov said. This is politically inevitable because it has emerged as one of the seminal demands of the broad popular masses and public forces. This problem should be solved in strict compliance with the law, in openness and by civilised procedures. Each member of the leadership, Mr Lilov went on to say, should also face up to his own guilt and responsibility.

He spoke about the party policy towards the informal organizations. He said he was convinced that the wholesale dismissal of the independent organisations would be a political blunder. The phenomenon cuts across the political spectrum, it includes extremists and reactionary-minded people. What matters most, according to the speaker, is that these movements are a product and an attribute of restructuring. The party will do the right thing if it adopts a policy of constructive and civilised dialogue with all forces in favour of restructuring, glasnost and social democratization irrespective of their ideological, religious and ethnic affiliation. They can and must be our partners, and many of them can be our allies in social renewal. The dialogue will be hard, but the alternative is a confrontation which might have tragic consequences and could put into reverse the restructuring, the internal unity and the international prestige of Bulgaria, Mr Aleksandur Lilov said.

He indicated that the destructive positions and the reactionary objectives of some of the organisations should not be underrated. Political struggle should be led with them. Chaos, violence and law-breaking are inadmissible, Mr Lilov said.

Politburo Members Speak

AU1212180489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The 2d day of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee is nearing its end, and our colleague, reporter Zakhari [word indistinct], reports:

[Reporter] An impressive report was read on the 1st day of the plenum and many speakers have already taken the floor—namely 30 of them, but twice as many would like to stand at the rostrum.

One may say that proceedings are very animated, but I cannot rid myself of the impression that not all the words pronounced can be considered as contributions. It is true that the situation of the economic sphere and of society is difficult, but one can hardly imagine that the constant reiterating of the same general subjects [words indistinct] will stimulate the development at accelerated rates.

For this reason, the warning of Belcho Belchev, who chaired the afternoon session, was quite to the point:

[Begin Belchev recording] In its report, the Politburo proposed a comprehensive program for the solution of the questions related to restructuring in our country and to the state of our economy, of socioeconomic relations as a whole. The Politburo and many of the speakers pointed out that we should, above all, direct our attention to the program that we are now submitting to the Central Committee for adoption, and to the proposals for the expansion and further improvement of this program. [end recording]

[Reporter] Yes, it was not useless to recall this, because this morning some speakers also tried to make personal (?excuses), something that would be unworthy, as Comrade Andrey Lukanov said, considering the existence of so many problems and in facing the necessity of searching [word indistinct] solutions.

In saying this, I should add that the majority of Central Committee members and candidate members honestly tried to find solutions for the painful questions of primary importance, as well as for methods of restoring the people's confidence.

Aleksandur Lilov's statement was analytical, but I will not cite it, since we already briefed you on it an hour and a half ago.

Some critical remarks were made regarding various units of the party leadership, especially regarding oblasts and municipalities. A sharp, critical statement was made by Stoyan Mikhaylov in searching for answers about the causes that led to this fateful political situation of the party, as he expressed it himself, for (?communism) and for society.

He also pointed out the missed opportunities to master the processes, to intensify party organizations' activities.

Similar evaluations were expressed by other speakers, stating that the party is not yet ready for work under such complicated and dynamic circumstances, in an atmosphere of pluralism, and under conditions in which there is an intensified emergence of new informal associations and organizations.

Stoyan Mikhaylov expressed the opinion that the Central Committee and the Politburo have not yet mastered the new methods of work. It is necessary to be ahead of events, initiative is required in the economic sphere, but also in the democratization of society and in restructuring the social (?processes). A prompt and speedy restructuring of the party itself is required, which will be ahead of the progress of society.

The critical tone of Stoyan Mikhaylov's statement heated up the atmosphere of the debates at the plenum.

Following the recess, Comrade Andrey Lukanov made some clarifications related to this statement and declared that the Politburo welcomes the critical approach and will not be

worried about critical tones in the future. Quite the contrary, this is healthy for the party, as long as the criticism is constructive and inspired by a sense of responsibility for the party and for the country's future, he said.

Really, a month is not a very long period for the processes that began following 10 November, and tremendous efforts were required in this respect. It is, however, evident that we lack experience in working under conditions of pluralism, with tolerance for opinions and views that are different from ours, but we all have to get used to this.

Under conditions in which there is dialogue with all organizations and movements, a common platform will be constructed for the accelerated renewal of society, and for the time being it is hardly important where the initiative for the implementation of one democratic action or another stems from. The main thing, in my opinion, is to use the minds, energies, initiatives, and the good intentions of everyone in Bulgaria.

2d Day Proceedings

AU1212165889 Sofia BTA in English
1607 GMT 12 Dec 89

["CC of the BCP Continues Its Plenum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continued its plenum here today with an ongoing debate on the report "On the State of the Country, the Party and the Immediate Tasks."

Approving of the report, the speakers stress that it does not contain ready-made recipes and hard-and-fast truths but rather outlines the first steps of a policy to help the party and the country out of their grave crisis.

Mr Georgi Grigorov, the newly elected first secretary of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP, spoke about conservatism as a vestige of the command-and-administer system and as one of the serious threats which the party faces now. He insisted that it should be acknowledged that at this point the BCP is "beheaded in terms of top personnel" as it lacks cadres well trained to work constructively in the economy and ideology.

Supporting the motion that the new constitution drop the Article 1 guarantee of the BCP's leading role, Mr Georgi Kostov, director general of the Technological Institute of Plastic Materials Processing in the town of Gabrovo, said that the participation of other parties in political life would maintain the Communist Party at its most viable, and it will have to keep fighting for its leading role by political means.

A similar view was expressed by Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and by many other speakers.

They stressed the need for an early drafting of a new BCP programme and of a new Bulgarian constitution on the basis of provisions which have proved their worth in practice, of the experience of the workers and communist parties, of the values of the Bulgarian and the Western social democracy, of elements from the constitutions of the Scandinavian countries and the countries of Western Europe and the United States.

A number of speakers singled out the ownership issue for special consideration. The new constitution, Mr Georgi Kostov said, should provide equal opportunities for the development of state (all-people's) and private ownership. Let time tell which of the two is more viable.

Academician Vladimir Topencharov, one of the oldest Central Committee members, has sent a letter to the plenum insisting on an urgent purge of the party apparatus to expel particularly discredited people, to cut the number of full-time party employees and to reduce this number to the minimum essential for its normal political operation.

The academician described the voices against socialism "ill-advised", as a renunciation of socialism would amount a renunciation of the care of man. "The essence of the ideal should not be identified with the abuses committed along the road to this ideal," he said.

The participants in the afternoon session paid tribute to the victims of the railway accident which occurred at the station of Roman this morning. The plenum expressed deep sympathies to the victims' families.

Mr Dimitur Popov, chairman of the Regional People's Council in Varna, stressed that the decisions on farming made so far had been ineffective and said that no decrees will make people go to the countryside. Only more profitable job guarantees, the establishment of private and cooperative farms and of a normal social infrastructure will give the countryside an attraction and make agricultural labour worthwhile not only for the state but for those who work it, he said.

The speaker called into question the expediency and the efficiency of the existing units of territorial administration which were introduced two years ago. He stressed that regional structures will be hardly feasible if they retain their functions and rights.

Mr Luchezar Avramov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Hikers Union, suggested that in future Politburo members do not necessarily fill the top government posts and that the BCP abandon its executive functions in the day-to-day running of the country. He spoke of the need to liberalize the inner party structures.

Further on Proceedings

AU1212173689 Sofia BTA in English
1654 GMT 12 Dec 89

["Stagnation in the Social Sphere"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The stagnation and abuses in society had an adverse effect on the country's social policy, said at the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Evgeni Apostolov, first deputy minister of national health and social welfare.

He said that in the last 10-15 years the death rate in Bulgaria has increased, reaching 12.0 per 1,000 and in the villages this index is twice higher than in the cities.

The fact that mortality of the active people (aged between 30 and 59) is increasing causes great concern. The average life continuity [as received] of the Bulgarian has decreased.

The deputy minister sees the reasons for the grave situation in the social sphere in its long years of an inferior position, in the use of the "obsolete" principle when planning the means for it. Another reason is the disparaging attitude towards issues of ecology, which brought the increase of certain types of diseases. The issue is raised of cadres who have been relegated to an inferior position in society, as a result of which the atmosphere of humanism and compassion in the health establishments is being destroyed.

Mr Evgeni Apostolov criticizes bitterly the former chairman of the Medical Academy Atanas Maleev, who was removed from the composition of the CC of the BCP at the plenum held last week. The speaker condemned voluntarism and subjectivism, the terror imposed by Maleev at taking of decisions, which brought the crippling of national health care.

The first deputy minister thinks that there are conditions for the renewal of social work and health care, for their democratization on the basis of preliminary changes in the whole system of relations in medical care: between the state, the insurers (companies and communes), the insured and the health establishments.

New Strategy Said Needed

AU1212213889 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] We are witnessing the beginning of a deep political, economic, ideological and moral crisis. The confidence between ruling and ruled, between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the people, is constantly shaking, said Mr Ivan Tenev, chairman of the "Electronika" Association.

According to him the loftiness and suspiciousness of the BCP towards the other political forces should be overcome.

He had a firm stance that Bulgaria should in future, too, develop the electronics at moderate rates, in compliance with the national resources, and a change in the market orientation. A new strategy is needed, worked out in the discussion between all experts.

Mr Tenev said that the existing economic companies are not regulated by serious laws and remain to be only a coverage of the old bureaucratic structures. According to him it is possible to carry a balanced market orientation within a short period of time and to guarantee the currency self-financing of this branch. The monopoly on the foreign trade should be removed, so that the companies would be able to come directly to the foreign market when exporting and importing.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP spoke in favor of a dialogue with the independent associations and organizations.

The correct line is a policy of a dialogue with all who are backing the restructuring, openness and democracy, irrespective of their religious, ethnic and political belonging. They can be our partners. Confrontation could bring tragic consequences, Mr lilov said.

He said that there should be a political struggle with those who favor reactionary stances and warned that a chaos should not be allowed.

According to Mr Lilov, normal relations have still not been established with the independent organizations.

Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, levelled criticism at the new Politburo of the CC of the BCP over its failure to anticipate the turn of events in the country. The reform of the party should go ahead of the reform of society as a whole.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, took the floor to answer the criticism. He emphasized that the Politburo is not worried by the debate held at the plenum. At this complicated period, however, criticism should be principled, honest and constructive Mr Lukanov spoke about part of the things which the had done over the last month, which show that it had been busy and active. [sentence as received]

Concerning the criticism that the resolutions at the December 8 Plenum of the CC of the BCP (sweeping personnel changes in the Politburo and the Central Committee) were adopted under pressure from extra-party factors, Mr Lukanov pointed out that it is only natural and necessary that a party should reckon with the public. This is what makes a party strong. The resolutions should be assessed in their political aspect, this is evidenced by the overwhelming support of the people.

According to an opinion poll, 95 per cent of the public approves of the December 8 resolutions.

We badly need criticism, debate and pluralism but, ultimately, their idea should be the rallying of the BCP and unity of action for the sake of the new policy line, Mr Lukanov said.

Boyko Dimitrov Statement

AU1212205289 Sofia BTA in English
1921 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—At the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] CC [Central Committee] Plenum which continues here today, Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov expressed regret over the fact that nobody from the CC has handed in his resignation yet.

There are still people in the CC who are closely and fatally linked with Zhivkovism, he went on to say. Do they have to hear their names pronounced to be able to understand that there is still something which they could do for the party which has given them a great deal, the minister said.

Boyko Dimitrov spoke about proposals he had made before the senior party bodies. It was not simply that they were not taken into consideration but he was threatened that his anti-party behaviour would be considered.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov spoke in favor of turning the plenary composition of the CC from primarily representative and deliberative into a working and truly decisive body. According to him it is necessary to restore the statute distribution of the rights, responsibilities, functions, and competencies between the plenums of the CC and the working bodies which it elects: the Politburo and the Secretariat.

The minister paid close attention to the close observance of the mandate system for leading party and state positions, to the carrying of secret voting for all elective positions and under the provision of alternative candidatures.

Boyko Dimitrov spoke for complete openness, autonomous mass media controlled by the public and the parliament.

The foreign minister stressed the significance of the ethnic issue, its fatality for the country's home and foreign policy. He expressed conviction that in due time BCP CC Politburo will undertake serious, wide, and unbiased discussion on all its aspects.

Atanasov's Speech

AU1212214889 Sofia BTA in English
1950 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The past years abound in negative examples of work in the economy and with the economy, said Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and Politburo member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] addressing the plenum of the CC of the BCP.

He blamed what he called "an absurd monopolism of strategic decision making on management of the economy and the other social spheres" for the minimized role of the government.

The first big absurdity in this system is that nobody depends on his work. "Everybody help themselves uncontrollably to the public purse, everyone everywhere demands more allocations irrespective of whether he has earned them," and the state bodies which hold the purse strings find themselves under constant pressure but are helpless to protect and safeguard the resources at their disposal, Mr Atanasov said.

The overall credit resources granted by the Bulgarian National Bank have been growing at an average annual rate of 10 per cent during the 1970-1987 period, while personal savings have been increasing by 9.5 per cent over the same period. Bearing in mind that the national income growth rate during the period averaged 5-6 per cent, both the supply of inflated money and the savings have been considerably outdistancing the generation of new value, Mr Georgi Atanasov said. The tragedy of this self-devouring system is that regardless of the capabilities and the advance of the productive forces it promises more wealth and, at the same time, inexorably erodes living standards, the prime minister said.

In Mr Atanasov's view, labor productivity of employed manpower in Bulgaria is merely 15 to 20 per cent of the respective figure in the most advanced countries. A quarter of the state companies are state-subsidized, and the bulk of these subsidies is unjustified. The state pays nearly 7,000 million leva in subsidies per annum, and the prime minister sees this as an indication of low productivity, lax labor and technological discipline and a cover-up of mismanagement.

Mr Georgi Atanasov revealed that more than 5,700,000 man-days (the equivalent of the annual work of some 30,000 people) were lost last year owing to outages and absenteeism.

In Mr Atanasov's view, arbitrary investment and structuring are the second big economic absurdity. Investment policy has come to be identified with a "big-is-beautiful" approach, with pomp and a technological euphoria which have superseded economic feasibility. The production basis built, which is outsize by Bulgaria's standards, is unwieldy and depends desperately on the import of raw and prime materials. It is cut off from the consumers' requirements and too frail to enter the hard-currency markets. "We can hardly point to a sub-branch and even a single production which is competitive on the free international markets," he said.

"When I started working at the Council of Ministers in 1986, I found out that in order to balance our foreign trade, we had to cut some 1,000 million US dollars' worth of imports. In 1976 machines and equipment accounted for 40.2 per cent of total imports. In 1986 this proportion dropped to 22 per cent and the import of raw and prime materials rose to over 60 per cent. To go on manufacturing and living, Bulgaria now has to import materials and spare parts for at least 2,400 million-2,600 million dollars. This is what our economy is at a time

when market realities have changed both in the East and the West and when we have lost ground on some vital markets," he said.

Mr Georgi Atanasov went on to say that despite the grown volume of exports, they have been bringing in between 1,000 and 1,500 million dollars less over the last four years, and during four years of bad harvest Bulgaria has been forced to import 200 to 300 million leva's worth of foodstuffs.

Another absurdity is the increase of the economic growth rates as an end in itself in glaring contravention of the resolutions of the 13th BCP Congress in 1986. In Mr Atanasov's view, this "superheated" the economy which was moreover confronted with an adverse international business climate.

The prime minister discussed the feverish reorganizations of practically all economic spheres and hierarchical levels. "We were always on the move and on the starting blocks," the head of government said, adding that in the period since the 13th BCP Congress in 1986 the Bulgarian economy has received a total of 29 "thoroughly innovative" documents coming from a single nerve center and "automatically becoming law."

Mr Atanasov said he was aware of his own blame and responsibility and described the lack of effective democratic mechanisms of control over the administration as the root cause of the crisis. He said that a full-powered government, accountable only to the national assembly, should be formed.

The prime minister emphasized that the principal idea of the economic reform is a "u-turn in structural policy on the basis of new priorities" and a transition to economic management through market mechanisms.

Zhulev Demands Changes

AU1312081389 Sofia BTA in English
2018 GMT 12 Dec 89

["Urgent Economic Measures Needed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—"The point is not whether to allow foreign investment but how much we will be able to attract on mutual-benefit terms," said Mr Stoyan Zhulev, president of the Bulgarian Association of Tourism and Recreation, addressing the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

Mr Stoyan Zhulev declared himself in favour of political and economic democratization. In his view, the workforces should become not only managers but true owners of the means of production.

The urgent measures which he listed include legal guarantees for the closed-cycle production units' independence and right to self-management irrespective of their form of ownership and field of activity; placing the relations between the state and the commodity and service-producers on a statutory basis with guaranteed economic freedom; restricting the state's investment functions to the infrastructure and the defence industry; introducing a realistic exchange rate of the national currency; dramatic devaluation of the Bulgarian lev.

The fulfillment of these measures would facilitate the vigorous growth of efficient activities such as the light, the food and the tourist industries.

Mr Stoyan Zhulev suggested a new tax policy to stimulate reproduction and to help cut budget expenses. In his opinion, this would check the increase of the public debt.

He urged for private, cooperative and state initiative to be given equal opportunities in the tourist industry and motivated the need for a tourism act.

Intellectual Abuses Revealed

AU1312081189 Sofia BTA in English
2143 GMT 12 Dec 89

["Abuses in the Intellectual Sphere"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The state of the intellectual sphere, which has been affected particularly adversely by the command-and-administer system and by the gross abuses in government over the last few years, is also on the agenda of the ongoing plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The report of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP mentions the gross and incompetent interference in the evaluation of trends, artists and works of science and art. The report lists cases of corruption and unprincipled extolling of individual cultural figures, of unjustified discrediting of noted personalities in Bulgarian science and art, of stifling non-conformist creativity, of hopelessly backward facilities in culture.

Over the last two or three years, when Todor Zhivkov's absurd claims on theory became intolerable, the regime came into an open confrontation with part of the intelligentsia.

One of the outstanding tasks of the BCP leadership is to ease this tension and to create conditions for the intellectuals' wide-ranging participation and crucial role in the renewal of socialist society, the report says. The Politburo believes that restructuring of society is unthinkable without the intelligentsia and that the advancement of the intellectual sphere is impossible without a deep-going restructuring of society.

The report points to the negative part played in the country's political and intellectual atmosphere by the former Politburo members and BCP Central Committee secretaries Milko Balev and Dimitur Stoyanov and by the ex-vice president of the State Council Yaroslav Radev.

The participants in the plenum who took the floor today recalled that the intellectual sphere was actually ruled over by the former party leader. Academician Ilcho

Dimitrov, a historian, spoke about the incompetent interventions and the mutually exclusive decisions taken without care about the intellectuals' opinion.

Mr Dimitrov produced specific examples from the recent past of the Ministry of National Education, the cultural unions and Sofia University to motivate his view that the idea has been to antagonize the most prominent intellectuals to the BCP and the state.

Ninov, Rusinov Speak

AU1312080889 Sofia BTA in English 2202 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Mr Goran Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Regional People's Council [of Mikhaylovgrad] spoke of the extremely grave condition in the town of Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad region. After 1965, a group of veteran resistance fighters in this region, headed by Ivan Todorov Gorunya, made an attempt to remove the totalitarian power, the hate and revenge of Todor Zhivkov fell down on the whole region with a smashing might.

There are now 30 loss-making enterprises there, social productivity and remunerations are the lowest in the country, agriculture is facing a catastrophe, yields of most of the crops are lower than they had been 20 years ago, the region has the lowest birth rate and highest mortality in Bulgaria. The region has the lowest values in the country in all indices of social development and living standards.

According to Ninov, agriculture can be saved only under the equal existence of the private and the cooperative ownership provided that there is a substantial financial base.

Mr Konstantin Rusinov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, made a proposal for analysis and a possible change of the existing (from 1987) administrative territorial division of the country. This division was made without consulting experts, and after neglecting the opinion of the local leaderships.

Rusinov proposed that the unprofitable enterprises be determined and subsidies redirected: mainly in the sphere of agriculture.

He said that the permanent changes in the economic conditions for foreign investments and the activities of joint stock companies as well as the lack of consecutive legal and economic regulation stop foreign investments and creates uncertainty and wait-and-see position on the part of foreign investors.

The deputy-minister of foreign economic relations called vicious the practice to appoint to the Bulgarian embassies abroad people who have been removed from their posts for some kind of reason.

The first steps of the new party and state leadership have received broad support but there was also some criticism. This was the opinion of Mr Yancho Georgiev, head of the Information and Sociological Centre of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

There were positive reactions concerning the removal of the article from the Penal Code restricting the freedom of speech and thought, and the changes in the Politburo. At the same time there was criticism regarding the expediency of the manner in which the Politburo resolved to use the former residences. This resolution was characterized by society as hasty and ill-considered.

Ilcho Dimitrov, a historian, appealed that the plenum will not be restricted with criticism of the personality only. The roots of the phenomena should be sought, to be able to build sufficient guarantees against recurrences, he said.

Bulgaria is a part of the European civilization and she had suffered greatest calamities when she had been detached from her natural environment, Prof Ilcho Dimitrov recalled. He sought the reasons for the country's present state in tradition, too, and said that only under a democratic rule can a democratic tradition, able to overcome authoritarianism and extremism, be formed and develop.

Spokesman on Partnership

AU1312102889 Sofia BTA in English 2243 GMT 12 Dec 89

["The Party Is Getting Ready To Become Partner With Other Political Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—Today, at the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the opinion was formed that the blame should not be taken off those leaders who have violated the laws and injured people's interests, said tonight at a press conference Mr Evgeni Aleksandrov, spokesman of the plenum. These people will bear their responsibility, he said.

Generalizing the opinions of some 30 participants who took the floor at today's discussion, he said that the Communist Party, drawing on its opinion from the past, as a party in the opposition and as a revolutionary party, should ever more use political methods, characteristic of modern civilized life, to be able to become a partner to the other political forces, participants in a wide national dialogue.

There was a common understanding that Article Number 1 of the Constitution, determining the party's leading role, should be abolished.

Some of the party members think that it is high time to start a dialogue with the other political forces on the basis of a positive political platform, the speaker said.

Asked if the elections for delegates to the congress will really be democratic, Mr Evgeni Aleksandrov answered that the party statute provides ample conditions for that. It is a matter of whether the party members, who number about one million people, will meet the level of the new

requirements and policy and will themselves elect delegates people who have adopted restructuring as their own ideology.

Speaking about the programme for stabilization of the economy, which is being developed at the moment, he said that the country's leadership will try not to allow in 1990 a rise of prices of the prime necessities. At the same time he stressed that prices should be brought in compliance with the international ones and cannot any more be determined from the above, that there must be a democratic, market price formation.

It was said that after the plenum ends, most probably tomorrow, there will be a press conference with the participation of party leaders.

Evening Session Ends

AU1212202489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The evening session of the second day of the Bulgarian Communist Central Committee Plenum ended a few minutes ago. A total of 104 speakers have applied to take the floor; so far 37 of them have spoken. The plenum continues tomorrow.

Plenum Begins 3d Day

AU1312084289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] "The plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is continuing the third day of its work." Correspondent Tsveti Gerov will report on the opening proceedings.

[Begin Gerov recording] The subjects discussed include the problem of restoring the people's trust in the party, purging it of all members associated with the old regime, and dismantling the command-administrative system.

"Petur Dyulgerov spoke about the complex situation in the Bulgarian trade unions. The plenum is continuing its work, and we will continue to keep you informed in later broadcasts." [end recording]

Investigation Approved

AU1312130089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpts] We continue to follow the proceedings of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Here are parts of the speeches made by Sava Dulbokov and Mako Dakov [passage omitted]

Earlier, a proposal was submitted to discuss the party positions of Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov. Comrade Petur Mladenov proposed that the Politburo should carry out a careful, in-depth analysis of the political damage caused by the actions of these people, and present a complete political evaluation at the next plenum. As far as offenses against the law were concerned, these should form the subject of investigation by the relevant competent organs.

Comrade Petur Mladenov's proposal was accepted, with three votes against.

The afternoon session begins at 1500.

Train Accident Fatality Estimate Lowered

AU1212211489 Sofia BTA in English 2015 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—At 0805 today, the express train "Zlatni Pyasitsi" travelling from Sofia to Varna, got off the rails in the region of Roman railway station. There were 89 people travelling in the two first carriages after the motor and the postal van which turned over and crashed. Ten people have died on the spot among whom were the engine driver and the guard of the train. Twenty-seven persons have been injured of whom 8-9 are in a grave condition. They are hospitalized in the towns of Vratsa and Mezdra and given medical aid.

The chief traffic safety inspector at the Bulgarian State Railways Atanas Tonev said that "a special commission has been formed to find out both the reasons as well as the damages. Apparently the train had been moving at a great speed. A subway is being built in the region of the railway station where the accident took place and the maximum admissible speed was 9 kph, while after the collision the engine recorder showed 25 kph. The engine crew was familiar with the situation. Besides, in the region of the railway station there was a signalling for restriction of speed," Mr A. Tonev said.

The rescuing operations and repair works started minutes after the accident with the help of over 30 medical teams from the region of Mikhaylovgrad and Lovech. Travel of trains started in the afternoon.

Angel Dimitrov Discusses New Role for BZNS

AU1212205689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] At the People's Palace of Culture today a meeting was held between Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and the aktiv of the Sofia Agrarian Union.

He briefed the participants on the conclusions and results of the meetings held to date with municipal agrarian unions all over the country and in Sofia.

All over the place the feeling prevails that the Agrarian Union should become an active and authoritative political force, ready to assume its role and responsibility in the process of the country's radical restructuring, the union secretary pointed out.

He further stressed that the current task of united agrarians is to rally together, so that the union may be rescued from the stagnation and indifference of the past.

A new program and new methods should be adopted so that the union may play its role as an equal partner and opponent of the Communist Party.

Commissions Propose Penal Code Amendments

AU0712191389 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—A number of provisions in the Penal Code, which restrict constitutional rights of the citizens and contradict undertaken international legal obligations, will be changed.

The need of these changes was confirmed at today's session of two parliamentary commissions.

The M.P.'s of the Legislative Commission and the Commission for Protection of Public Interests and Civic Rights discussed and approved a bill for amendments and changes to the Penal Code which will be submitted for discussion and adoption at the session of the National Assembly of December 14.

The commissions propose to amend and repeal several articles and paragraphs of the operative Penal Code which treat as criminal deeds the preparation, concealment and concealing [as received] of information about felony against Bulgaria or another state and military force which is allied to it.

The new edition envisages liability before the law only for the propagation of changes by force in the social and state order established by the Constitution. From the present text are removed: "The propagation of fascist or other anti-democratic ideology", "the praising of committing of crimes against Bulgaria and the instigation of such crimes" and "the spreading of slanderous allegations concerning the state and social order or the distribution of literature with such content."

The bill proposes decriminalization of the deeds, treated as crimes by several articles, which are related to the preparation for the committing of crimes against Bulgaria, concealment, not disclosing of information and the protection for the commitment of such crime.

The M.P.'s did not agree with the repealing of Article 180 which envisages liability for cohabitation like husband and wife between individuals who have not been divorced.

An amnesty bill was also debated envisaging amnesty for all crimes which are decriminalized with the amendments of the Penal Code.

A number of proposals for considerable changes in the texts of this bill were made and because of this the commissions decided to meet again on December 13, in order to make it possible to submit it to the forthcoming session.

For additional review was postponed also the bill for evaluation of techno-scientific inventions. It proposes the establishment, with the National Assembly, of a bureau for assessment of techno-scientific inventions important for the management and development of the investment process and the formation of the scientific-technological policy of this country.

Komsomol Secretary Discusses Youth Issues

AU0712140189

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH on 4 December 1989 carries on pages 1-2 a 1,600-word interview with Evgeni Uzunov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee by a NARODNA MLADEZH "editorial team," entitled: "Consolidation of Youth in the Name of Socialist Renewal," dealing with several topical issues related to youth and the Komsmol organization.

Referring to the recent Komsomol Central Committee Plenum, at which the organization expressed support for the new party and government policy, Uzunov admits that the majority of speakers at the plenum dealt with the "confidence crisis" that the youth organization is presently living through.

Uzunov further stresses the requirement for a "radical change in cadre recruiting policy." He says that party organs should no longer "impose" Komsomol cadres, but on the other hand, "people who have no spiritual link whatsoever with the Komsomol and use it as a stepping stone for a promising career" should be prevented from joining.

Asked about the his approach to total "glasnost and doing away with taboo subjects," Uzunov answers:

I am against any kind of taboos; this is an anachronism of the administrative-command system, and it also applies to all Komsomol activities, and to the NARODNA MLADEZH newspaper, of course. The paper should defend the ideas and prestige of the Komsomol, but this does not mean that it should not publicize critical remarks, including personal ones."

Further asked about the budget, payroll, and wages of Komsomol leaders, Uzunov briefs the NARODNA MLADEZH reporters that the Komsomol budget amounts "to 39 million leva including activities related to the support of the youth and pioneer base," and that the budget deficit in 1989 amounts to 7 million leva." The staff on the payroll consists of "6,800 people as a whole, 2,210 being group leaders, 2,340 methodological leaders and specialists working in youth and pioneers clubs; and 2,250 of them are political workers. The Komsomol Central Committee employees 143 political workers. As to their wages, the first secretary earns 640 leva, secretaries—500 leva, the Komsomol oblast committee secretaries earn 420 leva, and instructors in Komsomol municipal committees earn up to 240 leva," Uzunov explains.

On the subject of "cooperation with the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]," Uzunov points out as follows:

"I am convinced that the Komsomol will always need BCP leadership, but this leadership should be implemented in a new manner." Uzunov stresses that the leadership should involve ideological-political guidance, but not organizational control, and that the Komsomol "should independently determine the contents, forms, and mechanisms of its activities and organizational structure."

Asked about the Komsomol attitude towards "various youth formations, such as the independent students' association, the university students trade union, and so forth," Uzunov replies:

"Yes, we are witnessing a prompt increase of such students formations. Some of them will presumably disband, others will further expand." He stresses that the Komsomol is in favor of a "dialogue and joint actions with those formations that are for the renewal of socialism in our country, and such a dialogue is already in process." He adds: "On the other hand, we are determined to wage a bold and open political struggle against those forces, which are trying to divert us from socialism."

Uzunov also points out that his organization supported the "idea of establishing a People's Students Union in pure conscience and profound conviction," protesting against doubts about the sincerity of the Komsomol in this matter. Uzunov further stresses:

"In my opinion, it is an anachronism that the Komsomol should claim to be the only youth organization in Bulgaria, because the interests of individual strata and youths groups are strongly differentiated. Considering this fact, nothing should prevent us from discussing the question of the youth movement in our country, which is pluralistic in its essence and is built on numerous structures, with independent platforms, and the Komsomol should actively participate in this discussion."

Uzunov further states that in connection with solving the students' social problems, "We have recently conducted a more courageous dialogue with the state and the government on the subject," and enumerates several initiatives of the Komomsol in improving social conditions of students and newlywed couples. He adds: "It was as a result of our persevering efforts, that the chairman of the Committee of Science and Higher Education issued an order on introducing full students self-management in dealing with students' social everyday life problems."

The interview closes with Uzunov's appeal to the young readers of NARODNA MLADEZH to participate in a lively discussion on topical problems on the newspaper's pages.

Role of Television Under New Conditions Viewed

AU0712134889 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Dec 89 p 3

[Toma Tomov article: "For New Television"]

[Excerpts] Television is the face of the system. Others say—"the eyes of the government."

The most cynical ones whisper in our ear: "Listen, you and I know that today television rules Bulgaria. Whoever controls television...." [passage omitted]

I recall, indeed, I virtually see the smiling eyes of the super-businessman Kobayashi, owner of YOMIURI SHIMBUN—the major Japanese daily—and the private NTV Television Station, who said to me: "Mister, I have been to Bulgaria. What do you have there? Two channels, I think, both owned by the state. Both speaking the same language. Can a whole people speak one language? Do not forget that space-age television equipment is already available, and the potential is great—we shall sweep across state borders as if they were garden fences!" [passage omitted]

And how do things stand in Bulgaria in anything related to freedom of the press and television?

In our country, the political culture of the cold war and the corset of neo-Stalinist dogmas created a terribly enlarged, almost schizophrenic internal self-censorship mechanism within Bulgarian journalists. This was the cancer of fear. There were some strong men, some breakthroughs in censorship, and use of Aesopian language, however, the minefield of fear continued to exist. Even the Helsinki process of the 1970's did not diminish the ideological vigilance. Afterward, the struggle intensified against those who were thinking. Television, in itself a wonderful instrument of global communication, became an armored train of ideology of sorts, which used to fire one salvo after another against the ideological enemy. The journalists were merely the ones who took aim, executives who serviced the guns and machine guns. Reagan's first term of office and Brezhnev's last years marked the peak of the hysteria. Viktor Sukhodryov, Brezhnev's excellent translator, recently wrote that he was ashamed when he took part in the talks with President Carter, serving as decrepit Brezhnev's wet nurse, feeding him notes on which what Brezhnev had to say was written, and when he should stop talking. I remember my own feeling of incredulity when I first saw Brezhnev close up in 1977. He had a brown-green complexion, and the fact that he was alive and barely moved around seemed to be the result of a miracle. He looked like a dummy from Madame Tussaud's museum. Cameraman Nikola Todorov was allowed to film in Brezhnev's famous office in the Kremlin, and the material he unloaded on the editing desk was simply unique. One could see Brezhnev sweeping glasses and the water carafe from the table when he tried to get up. One could also see him swaying on his feet, making a great effort to pin the Gold Star of Hero of the USSR on Todor Zhivkov's lapel, unsuccessfully trying to do this for 4-5 minutes, while repeating all the time in the painful silence "hold on, hold on...." "He cannot even remember his own name," the cameraman whispered. [passage omitted]

Perhaps the most terrible factor in the past decades was the creation of a unique bureaucratic "cuneiform" slang—a language formed during the years of Stalin and Chervenkov, and polished up during the years of Brezhnev and Zhivkov. This was journalistic "brain food"—a "software" program of 1,000-1,500 words, composed of the reflections and considerations of the higher echelon, conveyed to the party cadres and "down" to the people. This was a cairn of ideological stones, daily piled up in the awareness of millions of people. Only naive people would think that it is easy to eliminate this cairn. I think that the damage will be eliminated only when a new generation free of "brain food" emerges. [passage omitted]

We most urgently need a gradual television strategy for the 1990's within the context of Bulgaria's place in the all-European process.

Restructuring in our country will not decisively assert itself if we do not create really civil television, based on socialist pluralism, and forever detached from the vertical hierarchy. Our television must have two channels that must be independent from each other and compete against each other, the one—a state channel, the other—a public channel. [passage omitted]

Television will gradually create a new political culture of tolerance. It will produce—I hope within one generation—new and talented, bold, and honest journalism, which will serve as the real conscience of the nation.

The most important thing is that now, after 10 November, such television is possible. This is my personal opinion. The power of our future television will lie in the fact that it will produce thousands of such opinions, which will probably be richer and bolder than mine.

This is the oxygen of freedom.

Informal Associations, Goals Examined

AU0712131889 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Dec 89 p 3

[Ivan Undzhiev article: "Where is the Alternative?"]

[Text] The first organizational meeting of the Club for Support to Restructuring and Glasnost was held on Friday at the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia. Because of the large number of speakers who wished to take the floor, the meeting was prolonged and ended in the late evening of Saturday.

Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the operational bureau of the club's administrative board, read a report on the nature and organizational structure of the club in the country's new political sisutation. He emphasized that from its very establishment, which took place a year ago, the club had been a political organization and the six items of its programmatic declaration are of a purely political nature. However, while its past activities used to be one-sided—consisting of submitting petitions and collecting signatures—the club is now facing a vast field of activities, such as the organization of public debates on basic social problems, with the aim of reviving public opinion and liberating it from ideological illusions and political prejudice, and of contributing to its democratization.

Petko Simeonov read a resolution that was approved by the meeting as a basis for the club's future program. The resolution insists on the elimination of the Bulgarian Communist Party's [BCP] political monopoly; it demands that pluralism and a multiparty system be introduced as soon as possible, and the guarantee of equal rights and inviolability for all forms of property, and a market economy. It insists on the existence of a law-governed state in which the power, all power should be invested in the National Assembly; it insists on the prompt depolitization of the Army and the militia so that they may be independent from political organizations, and demands that party organizations within them should be disbanded; it insists on freedom of speech and press; on the elimination of an ideological monopoly on education; on the independence of higher educational institutions; and on a just solution of ethnical problems.

These items could be interpreted and explained, but even without that everyone is aware that in adopting such postulates, the club is demonstrating its intention to become a political party. This would result in the polarization of its members' opinions. Many sober statements expressed concern about the future fate of the club and appealed for more common sense. Khristo Butsev declared that the Bulgarian intelligentsia has other more important tasks than founding parties. The members of the intelligentsia should act as advisers and mediators, they should engage in developing programs for alternative solutions in all spheres of life. Eduin Sugarev stressed the club's inability to cope with the freedom of action that it has obtained. He mentioned the internal contradictions and intrigues that are troubling and obstructing its consolidation. He appealed to the members to overcome their personal ambitions for power. Stefan Prodev stressed that it is too early for extreme demands and that total confrontation is unreasonable, considering that it does not permit those who are talking about restructuring to accomplish anything tangible. Problems, however, are such that their solution cannot be achieved with a magic wand. Radoy Ralin expressed his wish to see the club rally members and supporters who have different ideas, but share the same goal. It is important under the conditions of pluralism to rally people with different views not through political slogans, but on the basis of scientific arguments, and, as a result of this, the club should by no means become a party, Ralin said. Nikolay Vasilev, Chavdar Kyuranov, and others also expressed themselves in favor of preserving the club's purely debating nature.

Unfortuantely, pseudo-revolutionary slogans for renouncing all cooperation with the official authorities and for confrontation along all lines prevailed over the

meeting. The references to the fact that the people are willing to follow their "educators," which commits them not to disappoint the nation, were incorrect. This would mean that public opinion should be identified with a telephone call to Blaga Dimitrova or an anonymous letter to the meeting. The unmotivated claims of the majority of participants in the meeting to declare themselves the nation's intellectual and political leaders cannot be passed over with an ironic smile, because they conceal the immediate danger of investing the intelligentsia with destructive functions and of separating it from the country's political life.

Total rejection may be a stand, but it is not an alternative when something constructive should be accomplished. Glasnost, democracy, and an effective economy are absolutely required, there is no question about this. Nevertheless, we should be perfectly aware of which path to follow in implementing this goal. We should not forget that the course toward restructuring and renewal is the cause of the Communist Party, in which we should all participate in order to achieve results. In connection with solving the complicated problems that our society is facing, informal activities are also entitled to play their role. However, for the time being at least, such activities should suport, complement, and rationalize the action for reforms and for radical changes that no one but the Communist Party—which is the only organized force in our country—is capable of implementing. The dismantling of the command-bureaucratic system is a positive action, but it is beyond the capacity of the informal associations. It is incomprehensible, however, why they do not submit their own specific proposals on this and on other issues of decisive importance for the country's and society's future, instead of conceitedly boasting and posing as intellectual mentors. They should do this at least out of respect for the people, who are entitled to know who is leading them in what direction. There is no alternative to this for the time being.

Public Concerned About Industrialization

AU0812212189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 89 p 6

[Excerpts] Kurdzhali, 1 December (BTA)—The concern is really great and common. The town situated on the shores of the river Arda, is one of the six towns in our country that has been most gravely affected by the stormy industrialization development. It was, presumably, for the first time that the great hall of the Home of Culture and its lobbies could hardly contain the number of people wishing to express their opinions, or to simply get acquainted with their town's ecological situation. [passage omitted]

The specific measures adopted by the municipal environmental protection and regeneration committee in connection with improving the ecological situation, modernization of lead production, and the planning of a municipal water purification installation were also announced at the meeting.

Chief Mufti on Interference in Muslim Rites

AU1312101289 Sofia BTA in English 0911 GMT 13 Dec 89

["On Muslims' Religious Rights in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Bulgaria's new leadership addresses the problems of the Muslim community in a new way, says Mr Nedyo Gendzhev, chief mufti and chairman of the Supreme Muslim Theological Council in Bulgaria.

Interviewed for TRUD, he answers questions concerning the demands raised recently at rallies around the country against the infringement of the Bulgarian Muslims' religious rights through mosque closures.

The chief mufti believes that the complaints are justified as in some Muslim-populated parts of the country the mosques do not function normally in compliance with the precepts of the Islamic faith. The mufti says that according to Islam, every Muslim must offer prayers five times a day, and mosques should be permanently open to this end. In some parts of the country (Sofia, Plovdiv, Khaskovo), the bureaucratic system in the person of some local municipal leaders interfered grossly in the Muslims' religious life, closed the mosques or allowed them to function for Friday prayers only. In some places the obstacles were removed after the chief mufti's intervention, but there are still closed mosques or such that are open on Fridays only.

"We insist that these mosques be reopened and that the local authorities end their interference in the believers' religious life," Mr Gendzhev says.

He says that local leaders in some parts of the country have stood in the way of the practice of various Muslim religious rites.

"The totalitarian system rarely tolerated objections," the chief mufti says.

In his view there were irregularities with funerals, a very important Muslim rite. Recently less numerous obstacles have been raised to circumcision. The chief mufti urges for these obstacles to be lifted once and for all and everywhere.

He calls for the opening of a permanently operating school for the training of Muslim clergymen. There was such a school in Bulgaria until 1952.

The chief mufti points out that now the Bulgarian state subsidizes the salaries paid to imams and muftis. Since 1962 clergymen of Islam and the other religious faiths have been entitled to social security and pensions like all other blue and white-collar workers in the country.

The Supreme Muslim Theological Council in Bulgaria entirely supports the restructuring and democratization under way, Mr Nedyo Gendzhev says in conclusion.

"My Muslim brothers, too, pin great hopes on the changes that are taking place," he says.

Turkey Approached on Direct Dialing System

AU1212182089 Sofia BTA in English
1653 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The Committee for Communications and Informatics has notified the BTA that it has approached the Communications Administration of Turkey with a proposal on the introduction of a direct telephone dialling service between the two countries. No answer has been received from the Turkish side on the exact date on which the new direct dialling system could go into operation.

Austrian Euro-Parliamentarian Probst Visits

AU0712211589 Sofia BTA in English
1946 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—The Austrian parliamentarian Friedrich Probst, deputy at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and member of the Commission for Relations With Non-Member Countries, paid a short visit here. He had meetings with Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and with Lyuben Kulishev, secretary of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee.

The guest showed interest in the sweeping changes which are being implemented in Bulgaria for the purpose of establishing a modern law-abiding socialist state. Special attention was paid to the activation of the relations between Bulgaria and the Council of Europe along state and parliamentary lines.

Assembly Chambers Meet Separately, Then Jointly

LD1212092989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The two chambers of the Federal Assembly will hold separate meetings at 1300 [1200 GMT] in Prague today and at 1700 [1600 GMT] they will hold a joint meeting. On the agenda of the joint meeting will be the election Of the new chairman of the highest legislative body and some topical political and legislative issues.

Committees Endorse Bills

LD1212133189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The Committees for Culture and Education and the Foreign Committees of both chambers of the Federal Assembly today endorsed government bills on the new criminal law, the law on misdemeanors, the criminal code, and the law on minor offenses.

In the discussion the deputies were particularly interested in the question of custody. A representative of the Czech Office of the Prosecutor General said that in Czechoslovakia at the moment no accused was held in custody for longer than 2 years. Custody exceeding one year involved only members of the terrorist groups, which were active in the Central Bohemian and North Bohemian regions in the summer of 1988, whose interrogation has not yet been completed.

Chambers Elect Chairmen

LD1212140689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Balko remarks are in Slovak]

[Excerpts] We are now switching over to the Federal Assembly building—correspondents Lubos Lidicky and Ladislav Balko will report from there on the proceedings of the session of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations.

[Lidicky] At exactly 1300 the separate session of the Chamber of People started with the following agenda: deputies approved the proposal of election order for secret ballot for election of functionaries of the Chamber of People and the Federal Assembly. They elected the chairman of the Chamber of People and will be electing members of the new Presidium of the Federal Assembly. Also on the agenda is the setting up of a new committee for the environment and adding more members to the defense and security committee. [passage omitted] The chamber is able to adopt decision:

There are now 180 deputies present. Because Vladimir Vedra resigned this morning from all his posts in the Federal Assembly, the first item on the agenda was the election of the Chairman of the People. This was done by a secret ballot. Individual deputies' clubs put forward Deputy Josef Bartoncik for his post—he represents voters from the 99th constituency, that is Kromeriz and Gottwaldov—and he is a member of the Czechoslovak People's Party. There was a secret ballot, as I have said, and the election commission 2 minutes ago announced the following result:

There were 182 ballot papers—180 deputies voted and 128 deputies voted for Deputy Bartoncik was elected chairman of the Chamber of People.

[Balko] I have to run to our microphone here in the Chamber of People from the fourth flor where the Chamber of Nations is in session. Jan Janik, the so-far chairman of the chamber, asked to be released from this post about an hour ago. Deputies complied with his request. They then approved the further agenda of the 6th separate session of the Chamber of Nations—where besides the recalling and electing members of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly and the Foreign Committee of the Chamber—there was a similar proposal to that of the Chamber of People. That is, to set up a committee for the environment of the Chamber of People and to elect its members. [passage omitted]

Deputies then voted on the new chairman of the Chamber of Nations. The only candidate put forward was Academician Anton Blazej, former rector of the Slovak High Technical College, deputy for the constituency number 79 in Bratislava-Karlova Ves. Only 5 minutes ago the results of the ballot were announced: Academician Anton Blazej—elected with an absolute majority—as the chairman of the Chamber of Nations has taken over the chairmanship of its 6th separate session.

Assembly Presidium Members Resign

LD1212155989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1407 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Report by correspondents Ladislav Balko and Lubos Lidicky from the sessions of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations]

[Excerpts] [Lidicky] At the moment, the secret elections of the new members of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly are coming to an end here in the Chamber of the People. But first things first. [passage omitted]

The following deputies have resigned from the Presidium of the Federal Assembly: Indra, Hoffmann, Lenart, Bilak, Jakes, Zalman, Fekete, and—for health reasons—Vedra.

At the moment, in secret elections, deputies are electing their successors, namely these deputies:

The candidates are as follows: Jana Moltasova, Constituency Ricany; Pavol Bagin, Ilava; Frantisek Axmann, Sternberk; Jiri Novy, Benesov; Jiri Ladr, Rokycany Plzen-Sever; Ruzena Gdovinova, Presov 2; and Elena Olahova, Topolciany.

And what is new in the Chamber of Nations?

[Balko, in Slovak] Well, it seems that over there they are a bit behind the Chamber of the People because, presumably, their elections are more complicated as the deputies were elected in the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Czech Socialist Republic. So far, they have not announced even the names of the deputies who are to resign from the Presidium of the Federal Assembly, let alone the new names.

In the last 45 minutes, there was a break in the proceedings of the Chamber of Nations. Just before the break, an opening address, so to speak, was delivered by the new chairman of the Chamber of Nations, Academician Anton Blazej, deputy for constituency 79 Bratislava-Kalova Ves.

Academician Anton Blazek talked about the work of the Federal Assembly in the forthcoming period which, in his words, will stretch through the whole of the first half of 1990, during which time it should be possible to prepare the elections. [passage omitted]

Chamber Chairman Blazej Speaks

LD1212184289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Speech by Chamber of Nations Chairman Deputy Anton Blazej at Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] Esteemed deputies, esteemed guests! In connection with the program submitted to the joint session of the two chambers, I wish to put forward another point of the agenda. The political movement in our society in recent weeks has created conditions for the rise of political pluralism, conditions for implementing true democracy, for putting into force human and civic rights, and for the rise of a law-governed state. Polarization of all social strata and social groups has set in motion all spheres of life and work in all sections and in all spheres of our society. We praise the high standard, disciplined, and socially very responsible political forms of protests, demonstrations and strikes. Events in recent days have given rise to the need to change the political system in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, with all the well-known consequences that all of us are witnessing.

I would also like to say that when we objectively assess the true situation, when we are able to proceed based on political realism, then we must note that the Czechoslovak people showed themselves as a people possessing a high level of political culture, a high level of political morale, and a high level of political literacy. Based on these objective factors, and on behalf of the Club of Communist Deputies, I recommend to the Federal Assembly deputies that, in connection with the resignation of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in the present complex political situation we should waive the constitutional right of electing the president in the Federal Assembly. We propose that the election of the president be carried out in a form of a referendum, or by nationwide ballot. [applause]

In Czechoslovakia the post of the president was in the past, is, and will be in the years to come of exceptionally great importance and of immense social impact. As the first citizen of the state, the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, has enjoyed, is enjoying, and should enjoy great respect, great authority, and great social respect from all citizens of this state. It must therefore be a person who possesses professional, civic, and personal prerequisites, a person possessing moral credit for holding this supreme post in our state.

Regarding the rich democratic traditions of our peoples and nationalities and regarding the present political situation in Czechoslovakia, political responsibility is immensely important indeed in selecting a candidate who would be truly and informally [as heard] the president of all Czechoslovak people, who would be recognized and respected by all generations of our citizens, by all social groups and strata, which means that he should be accepted by the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia, women and young people, but that he should also be accepted by the third generation, the generation of our old-age pensioners. This means we recommend the selection of the president be carried out from more than one candidate. [applause] May the will of the Czechoslovak people decide whom they want in Prague Castle. [applause] We recommend that the presidential candidates come forward with a specific program of political ways out of the current political crisis, with a program to successfully and swiftly ensure social and economic restructuring, to build a modern democratic, humane, industrially, and culturally advanced Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [applause]

The candidates to the post of the president must have equal conditions, they must present themselves, form their views, positions on, and proposals for solutions, so that the people would have a true chance to decide on a specific candidate. For this purpose it will be necessary to change Chapter 4, Article 60 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, which says that the election of the president is carried out by the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted: appropriate committees of the Federal Assembly should draw up a law on referendum according to which people of Czechoslovakia would be a true source of power. The election of the president should take place in 1 month at the latest] [applause]

Deputy Bartoncik on Election Methods

LD1212184389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Chamber of People Chairman Dr Josef Bartoncik said at today's Federal Assembly, among other things: We think that there is a solution which is a compromise between the current form of electing the president by the Parliament and the referendum's request. In this regard, we want to forward

a draft of a constitutional legal amendment, the wording of which is as follows: The deputies of the Federal Assembly, of the Czech National Council, of the Slovak National Council, and the national committees of all levels who have betrayed their deputy's promise and who do not care for the will and interest of the peoples could be recalled from their office by the representative body of which they are a member.

Paragraph Two: The Federal Assembly, Czech National Council, Slovak National Council, and the national committees of all levels will place new deputies into the vacated seats on the proposal put forward by the National Front along with the Civic Forum in the Czech Socialist Republic. The complement will be carried out by voting in the representative body the member of which the deputy is to become.

We believe that in this way it will be possible to think over the situation, it would be possible to prepare this proposal in a relatively short time, it would be possible to discuss this law on the next session of the Federal Assembly, and to think it over and to adopt it. It would give us enough time for everybody to find out in his constituency whether he or she has the confidence of electors; and, based on this process, a relevant reconstruction could be carried out. The entire process of changes in top organs is taking place through this process of reconstruction, and such a state of the highest legislative body could be attained, against which nobody could have serious objections, including the people who currently have been voicing objections.

I think this process could be mastered by the end of the envisioned period of 14 days and by less effort and much more cheaply than by organizing a statewide referendum.

Kukral Elected Assembly Chairman

LD1212213189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1739 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Deputy Janda of Chamber of the People] In the secret ballot to elect the chairman of the Federal Assembly, 184 ballot papers were issued to deputies. When the voting ended, the commission found that: 180 deputies took part in the vote, 4 deputies abstained; a total of 175 valid ballot papers were received, there were five spoiled ballot papers.

The following votes were received: For Deputy Stanislav Kukral—160 votes; for Deputy Josef Bartoncik—15 votes. The Election Committee found that Stanislav Kukral, candidate for chairman of the Federal Assembly, was elected by a majority of more than 50 percent of deputies to the Chamber of the people.

[Unidentified deputy] Thank you, Deputy Janda, for information on the results of the election in the Chamber of the People. I now ask the chairman of the Election Commission of the Chamber of Nations to read the report on the election in the Chamber of Nations. Deputy Krauskopf.

[Krauskopf] Esteemed Chairman, esteemed deputies. Allow me to inform you of the result of the vote for chairman of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [SR] which took place on 12 December 1989. The commission of deputies of the Chamber of Nations consisting of: Pavla Caslavska, Viera Gogova, Evzen Krauskopf, Jan Pampuch, Zdenek Sytny, and Juraj turosik, which the Chamber of Nations elected for the secret election of the chairman of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, reports that the deputies were issued 136 ballot papers. At the end of voting, the commission found: a total of 136 deputies took part in voting, no one abstained, a total of 131 valid ballot papers were received, 5 ballot papers were spoiled. 170 votes were cast for candidate Stanislav Kukral, 11 votes against. 15 votes were cast for candidate Josef Bartoncik, and 116 votes against. The Election Commission found that candidate Deputy Stanislav Kukral was elected by a majority of over 50 percent of the present deputies of the Chamber of Nations in Prague on 12 December 1989. [applause]

[Unidentified deputy] Thank you, Deputy Krauskopf for information about the result of the vote in the Chamber of Nations.

Esteemed Federal Assembly, I inform you that Deputy Stanislav Kukral has been elected chairman of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak SR. I congratulate the newly elected chairman of the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

Jakes Defends Himself

LD1212234489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1739 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Speech by Deputy Milos Jakes at the CSSR Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman, esteemed Federal Assembly: I must say that I find it difficult to talk. I do not intend from this platform of the highest representative organ to raise any doubts as to political responsibility, within the framework of the position in the collective leadership, for the development in our country, particulary in the past 2 years, for a number of shortcomings which accompanied it, and which culminated in the events following 17 November. I tried honestly, in high posts, to overcome stagnation trends, to start implemention of restructuring and democratization, which was approved 2 years ago. It proved very difficult to overcome the stereotypes of the administrative method of management.

In the forefront of attention at the center was economic reform, the smooth running of the economy to prevent

its collapse and the lowering of the standard of living as we witnessed in Poland and in Hungary. I also tried to strengthen the democratic character of the National Front. Great attention was paid to political reforms, particularly working out a new constitution and other democratic norms as the deputies have been briefed. Despite this, the development of events in the country were influenced from abroad, old approaches to the solution of social problems were not overcome sufficiently, and an appropriate solution was not found in time. This was a grave mistake which caused the growth of social tension and which resulted in the solution which we witnessed over the past weeks.

You have received a report from the Commission for Supervision of Investigations of the Events of 17 November. The report, which was not discussed with me, although I was before the commission in the first few days, shows, including the suggested conclusions, that the commission fulfilled a broader role. It has virtually become a tribunal which proposes concrete viewpoints and proposals to find a solution. I cannot accept the viewpoints and allegations stated in the report about my direct responsibility for adopting the harmful decision to implement security measures against the demonstration. The important thing, which has been suppressed in all the commission's documents, is that the political directive, communicated to the Ministry of the Interior, specifically to Comrade Kincl, read as follows: One must not interfere with the participants in the commemorative gathering.

Yesterday, a report was broadcast on the television newsreel from the deliberations of a commission which should also have discussed my letter to the commission. It was announced that my blame has been demonstrated, that the security action on 17 November was carried out after consultations with me. However, it does not say by whom. What is meant, most likely, is my conversation with the former Interior Minister, Comrade Kincl, on the morning of 17 November. I never interfered with his constitutional jurisdiction and professional matters. I should like to say yet again that it was not a consultation, but information to the effect that the Federal Ministry of the Interior counts on the use of certain forces of order. My question as to why was answered—that it was in case there was damage to property and health. I replied that it is not desirable for the forces of order to be in contact with the participants of the commemorative gathering. The reply to this was that they envisaged blocking off the entry to the city center. I stressed yet again that there must be a guarantee that no action is taken against the participants—Comrade Kincl agreed to this. I was aware of what was involved—that 50 years ago, in different conditions, a similar event happened. At the same time, Comrade Kincl told me that he was leaving to see his family in Ostrava, that, if need be, he was represented by first deputy Comrade Lorenc. This was the situation.

After that I talked with Comrade Kincl on Monday, 20 November 1989. If someone is claiming that the opposite is true, I ask to be confronted with it. In my opinion, connecting these affairs directly with the steps taken by the forces of order, especially when it occurrred in a discussion of the overall social situation prior to 17 November, the party Central Committee presidium was advised to drop the action by the forces of order next time, since this was not the way to solve the problems of society. A number of measures to open a dialogue were also adopted, the implementation of which was overcome by the development of the situation.

As to criticism—namely that the Party Central Committee Presidium and I adopted an inappropriate attitude at first in view of the unjustified harshness of the interference—I should like to say that it stemmed from information provided by the first deputy of the Federal Ministry of the Interior which he presented at the extraordinary session of the Presidium on Sunday 19 November and which, as it transpired afterward, did not correspond to reality. The Central Committee Presidium formulated its viewpoint in the television address by Comrade Pitra and, at the same time, it acknowledged the fact that the office of prosecutor general is investigating the entire sad affair, and that consequences will be drawn. As far as the Federal Ministry of the Interior is concerned, we were encountering doubts that condemning the action would jeopardize the ability of the public security forces to fulfill their tasks.

Now to recapitulate the information on the course of the events: On Friday, 17 November 1989, at about 1800 hours, Comrade Lorenc, first deputy minister of the interior, phoned me in my apartment to say that the commemorative gathering was proceeding without problems, that it was political in character and that the participants were carrying banners and shouting various slogans with political demands. After that, he phoned me again, at about 2130, saying that a part of the procession gathered on Narodni Trida were pushed back following repeated appeals for them to disperse, and that no serious problems occurred. He said that he was leaving Prague and that he would prepare information about the developments.

On Saturday, following the report that, allegedly, student Smid was killed—which evoked deep emotions all over the country, particularly in students—I was finding out about the situation which arose. It was difficult to reach any responsible officials. After receiving the information that the students wanted to strike, that Prague theaters were joining in, I called the party Central Committee Presidium to assess the situation and to discuss further progress. I have previously explained the course of these talks.

On Monday, 20 November the situation was discussed in the Federal Government. The report was handed in by Comrade Kincl, minister of the interior. The government statement was published. In view of the slow progress in investigating the incident, this government viewpoint, which was subsequently supported in the Presidium statement, did not condemn the interference. On the basis of new information, the session of the CSSR

National Front Central Committee Presidium, which I chaired, adopted a viewpoint—on the initiative of Mr Kucera—which expressed regret and the interference was designated inappropriate. I should like to stress that it was not unwillingness, but incompleteness, inexactness, and the one-sidedness of the information from the Federal Ministry of the Interior that was the reason why a position appropriate to the given situation and the harshness of the action was not adopted.

It had grave political consequences. It simply caused a social crisis. That is, I did not stand up to defend the interference, as the materials allege, but rather to the contrary, after having discovered the facts. Such is the truth. In the reports that were published on the results of the investigations of the commission, their formulation and haughty accusations—I am stressing this yet again—the main thing is forgotten, namely that the party Central Committee Presidium, as well as I, gave a political directive to the Ministry of the Interior, to Comrade Kincl, not to take any action against the participants who were seriously influencing public opinion against me. They even initiated my expulsion from the party and have also made attacks against my person, as well as persecuting my family.

That is why I asked for the entire matter to be assessed again in my presence so that I could explain those accusations that do not correspond to the truth, or demonstrate innocence in confrontation, which did not happen. I still cannot accept now—when I was, in this connection and on the basis of the information of the commission, expelled from the party and when I resigned from a number of posts—that the fault of others be put off on me. That is why the conclusions, which the commission is proposing, are considered by me to be unjust. They follow political aims. The requirement for stripping off immunity opens the way for starting political processes, as in the past. I should like to see that, under the correct slogans and steps of revival and democracy, old mistakes are not repeated, understanding reigns, that our country ties in with all the good things that were achieved and develops as a socialist homeland for our citizens.

As to the post of deputy, I was waiting for this question to be discussed in the Federal Assembly so that I could be present. I should not like my person to be the cause for voicing mistrust of the highest representative body, the Federal Assembly. On this occasion I should like to thank the electors of the town of Kladno for their support in my deputy activity, just as I would like to thank the deputies of the Chamber of the People and the entire Federal Assembly.

This is my position on the report which was submitted and I declare, with honor and full consciousness, that I am telling the truth to this assembly.

Assembly Presidium Members Elected

LD1212205189 Prague CTK in English 1752 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—After the election of Josef Bartoncik new chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the People, Deputy Chairman of the House Alois Hula announced that the following deputies had asked to be relieved of the Federal Assembly Presidium:

Vasil Bilak, Alois Indra, Jozef Fekete, Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, Milos Jakes, Vladimir Vedra (all Communist Party members) and Zbynek Zalman (Czechoslovak People's Party).

Following deputies have been selected by secret ballot to substitute them—Frantisek Axmann (Communist Party member), Pavol Bagin (Communist Party), Josef Bartoncik (People's Party), Ruzena Gdovinova (Independent), Jiri Ladr (Socialist Party), Jana Moltasova (Communist Party), Jiri Novy (Independent), Elena Olahova (Independent).

Deputy Stanko on 17 Nov

LD1212234189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1812 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Statements by Deputy Stanko, chairman of the commission investigating the 17 November events, at the CSSR Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] [Passage indistinct] ...for supervision of the investigations of the events of 17 November on Narodni Trida [street], which you approved at the preceeding session, that is, 13 days ago. I asked the chairman to allow all members of the commission to be present, not just the deputies of the Federal Assembly, and most of the commission members are sitting here on the left.

Entrusted by the commission, I have the duty to inform you about progress in the work up to now, the results achieved, and proposals. Comprehensive...

[Reporter, interrupting in Czech] As you can hear yourselves from the session of the Federal Assembly, the results of the elections are not yet known and the deputies are now hearing the report of the parliamentary commission to supervise the investigation into the excessive action of the forces of order against demonstrating students on 17 November in Prague.

[Stanko] I must say that the way in which the commission was set up proved to be erroneous. Its membership and statute did not undergo prior consultation with representatives of students in the strike coordination committee, who had asked for the creation of such a committee. Further, representatives of the public were not included in it as was originally agreed and as Deputy Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, had required. All this gave rise to great initial mistrust from

the students and the public. Permanent inclusion of two representatives of Civic Forum in the commission and the democratic method of work founded on agreement and not on voting enabled all members and both of the experts on the commission to make their proposals and points fully valuable, to influence the agenda and conclusions of the commission, and thus quickly overcome initial misgivings and mistrust.

However, I consider it correct, and I propose to you, that we subsequently corrected this misunderstanding by having both the representatives of Civic Forum, Dr Motejl and Dr Danis, who are practically members of the commission, approved by both chambers and officially made members.

The general public is naturally very interested in our work. We considered it necessary and politically correct to provide preliminary information mainly about how the commission is working, who it calls to the sessions, and what the partial results are. We agreed that we would not give information about who said what in the commission, regardless of whether this concerned a citizen who was being questioned or a member of the commission. Only reports on which the commission has agreed are being issued.

We take this opportunity to thank all the media, which is creating an exceptionally favorable climate for the work of the commission, and I ask the whole of our public, with regard to the character of the event under investigation [word indistinct] that it is now definitely a case of criminal activity, to understand this method of investigation, I beg your pardon, of information. On Thursday we wish to organize a press conference on the results of the commission, at which time we will be prepared to answer questions.

Now a few words on the actual task of the commission and its methods. I would like to repeat that we are not a commission of investigation, nor could we be according to the valid order of law. However, if we are to supervise the investigation and fulfill the goals we have set for ourselves, we must have information. We get this directly from the people who could influence these events along the entire range of the then valid system, or who could tell us something about them from the positions they held. Although some people advised us to begin from the bottom—that is, with those who directly carried out the action, we considered it to be more rational and, in particular, quicker to work from top to bottom—that is, from the former general secretary, through officials of the capital city, deputies of the minister of interior, chiefs of the individual sections of National Security, down to the commanders of the units on the site of the action.

We are united in our opinion, in contrast to some former officials, that we will help the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], the organs of the Ministry of Interior, and the National Security Corps. Most of our activity is aimed at discovering, convicting, and issuing strict punishment to all those who took part in this illegal action, or created the conditions for it to take place. Despite the fact that the public is periodically informed about the work of the commission, voices criticizing the slowness of its work, the inconcrete nature of its results, and its unwillingness to publish names, are not rare. We, therefore, ask you to evaluate its work for yourselves.

After becoming familiar with the events through the results of the investigation by the Prosecutor General's Office of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [SR], both civilian and military units, through listening to those questioned, and by looking at video recordings, both official and amateur, we found that the entire security action was prepared in advance where organization, materials, and command were concerned. Political consultation had taken place, and during the course of events it was influenced from the level of leading secretary of the CPCZ City Committee in Prague. We also confirmed that it was more a case of intimidation than of preserving order.

On the basis of this premise the commission:

First, recommended to the chairmen of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly, and the chairman of the National Front of the Czechoslovak SR, Deputy Kucera, that they propose that Deputies Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan, who bear direct responsibility for the events of 17 November this year and in particular for their political consequences, should have their mandate as deputies to the Federal Assembly withdrawn. By their actions, they betrayed the trust of the voters and perpetrated an act unworthy of a deputy. As I am sure you know from the press, both the deputies publicly rejected this accusation. The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee meanwhile, and in connection with the results of the commission's work, expelled them from the CPCZ. Empowered by the commission, I signed a letter to Deputy Stepan and Deputy Jakes in which we explained in more detail our understanding of political responsibility as stated by law.

Second, the commission proposed to the minister of interior of the Czechoslovak SR that officials of the Federal Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of the Interior and the Environment of the Czech SR, the administration of the National Security Corps of the capital of Prague and the Central Bohemian Region, and the city of Prague Administration of Public Security should be removed from office. This concerns six highly placed officers of the National Security Corps. The minister of interior of the Czechoslovak SR and, as a result, the minister of interior and the environment of the Czech SR fully accepted our proposal, and some of the said officials have already been expelled from the National Security Corps. Naturally, our proposals were submitted by name. If you wish, we can make them public here. The Military Prosecutor's Office has begun criminal proceedings against some of these people—that is, charges have been made and detention has taken place

so that any publishing of names in these cases must be done according to our legal system so that further investigation is not disrupted or influenced.

Third, the commisison presented its findings to the main military prosecutor general of the Czechoslovak SR who is cooperating closely with us. Our speed and information had an undeniable effect on intensifying the work of the military section of the Prosecutor General's Office, which is already prosecuting four people for crimes connected with the events, of which three are in detention. At the same time, we presented a written proposal from the commission to the prosecutor general for further investigations from the position of the findings of the commission. Where the legal qualification of these events is concerned, we are of the opinion that a criminal act took place according to Paragraph 179 of the criminal law on general threat, as well as misuse of the jurisdiction of a public official, and bodily harm. The commission requires the investigations of the investigation body to be completed by 23 December. We proposed this date to representatives of the military element of the Prosecutor's Office and they accepted it.

Fourth, we also investigated the humanitarian aspects of the events of 17 November. We are in contact with the Ministry of Health of the Czech SR, and the independent association of doctors of Civil Forum. On Friday, we also started cooperation with the Independent Investigation commission, which came into being spontaneously. Their representative will also take part in the proceedings; he was there already today for the first time. From findings in this area we can say with certainty that the number of wounded during the demonstration appears to be considerably higher, by about 27 people for the moment, compared with what has been stated up to now. There is also a majority of serious injuries which will require long-term treatment.

Fifth, we propose to you, deputies of the Federal Assembly, to adopt a resolution at today's joint session which will lead to an amendment of the laws and legal norms which enabled such action. In the future no one should replace political means with means of force, with recourse to valid laws.

The commission cannot complete its work with this report and the results which I have mentioned here in brief. There are still several questions to which we at this moment do not have a satisfactory answer. From this viewpoint please consider this report as a preliminary one. I have been empowered to announce that all members of the commission are prepared, even at the expense of their work and personal free time, to purposefully continue this work.

One other small point: Official institutions, such as the committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, and also citizens and members of the students' coordination strike committee are turning to us to continue supervision of investigation into previous actions of forceful suppression of student demonstrations, namely of January, August, and October this year. We consider these requests to be an expression of trust in the parliamentary commission and a recognition of our results up to now. On the other hand, we are aware that this would mean releasing members for only this work for a longer time, and naturally involving the organs of the Prosecutor's Office in this investigation. I, therefore, also put this before you for evaluation. Personally, I think that if all organs concerned with criminal prosecution, that is security, courts, and the Prosecutor's Office, work properly and in particular independently, and there is effective supervision of their activity by the Federal Assembly and its commtitees, it will not be necessary to create special commissions of this kind in the future.

Please express your confidence and support by approving the draft resolution which the commission of the Federal Assembly puts forward. Thank you.

More on Stanko Speech

LD1312095289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1947 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Speech by Deputy Stanko, chairman of the commission investigating the 17 November events, at the conclusion of the CSSR Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, with regard to the amendments of the resolution, they arise unequivocally from our report, and as the chairman of the commission I identify myself with these amendments.

I should not need to react specifically in my concluding speech to what has been said here, above all by Deputy Jakes. The commission undertook a difficult task of characterizing two areas of responsibility—a political and criminal one. Because we have been set up as a parliamentary commission, and under the circumstances in which we have been set up, this commission surely has a political character and importance. For this reason and because we wanted to show conditions in which this state of affairs happened—in which this action was taken—we have endeavored to characterize these conditions in the best way possible, and draw from this the relevant political responsibility, respectively to point fingers at people who have a direct political responsibility in connection with that action.

I believe with regard to the political responsibility that there cannot be any argument because Deputy Jakes, too, has admitted his share of political responsibility unequivocally, as he himself stated here. I believe that the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee also expressed this particular sentiment. I would like to say, we as a commission and I myself personally, did not divulge any information of this kind, or personal information from this commission.

It is evident that any interior minister in the existing political system and the system of the control of organs of power would not permit himself to cause such a situation as happened. I believe that we do not need to persuade ourselves about this specifically. We talked also to the interior minister—I myself talked to him on the telephone on Saturday [9 December] when he was sick, or rather is sick, in Ostrava—as well as with his first deputy, General Lorenc, whom we had at the commission, and that the consultation Deputy Jakes has mentioned here, who says it was not a consultation but an information, was regarded as political consent to issue the relevant decision for this action by the security service. [sentence as heard] A federal minister of the interior order was issued, as was an order of the Czech minister of the interior and the environment, and the chief of the Directorate of the National Security Corps also issued an order.

No one claims in the commission that Deputy Jakes ordered what was really done there, that he ordered a massacre on Narodni Street. If that happened then it would not be a political responsibility but a criminal one. The commission has never claimed this, nor does it do so now. When we demand consequences, we are demanding political consequences, and one of these political consequences has been that Deputy Jakes, and of course Deputy Stepan too, be recalled from their parliamentary posts for the reasons I have stated here.

To a letter we have written in this regard to the representatives of political parties and social organizations associated in the National Front, we received a reply which says that both deputies have been asked to make comments, and that after their comments have been received the relevant proposal to recall them from the parliament wil be submitted to the Presidium of the Federal Assembly. Since there is no direct criminal responsibility, this was the reason why we did not propose to deprive Deputy Jakes of his parliamentary immunity because, according to the law, this is strictly linked to criminal proceedings.

One more observation concerning information and the information system in general. The whole world knew about it that very evening—I myself learned about it at 2200 in Bratislava, and I hold a far lower position—how that action took place. There was also direct reportage in stations broadcasting in Czech and Slovak, how that action took place On Narodni Street. We naturally know that the Presidium and the general secretary posess enough information also from these sources to be able to consider whether the interior minister was deceiving anyone or telling half truths. We consider that the political responsibility was an unequivocal one for the reason I have stated and for those reasons which are contained in the report.

Naturally, we issued a report containing this position, including an excerpt from the report you have received, which concerns political responsibility. We included a copy of the letter we sent to the chairman of the Federal Assembly to Deputy Jakes. Today, I received a letter in which he asked to be invited again before the commission. We can of course explain again these positions at the commission, although I do not anticipate that we will carry any confrontation in this matter. What has been said here is sufficient for us to determine this political responsibility in the system of work that existed before 17 or 24 November.

At the close allow me to thank all those who voiced their appreciation to the commission, as well as those who did not, for their support. For all of us here and for those who are listening to these proceedings, this will be an encouragement and stimulus for our further work. [applause]

Report on Deputy Chairmen Election

LD1312002889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2035 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Statement by unidentified deputy on election of deputy chairmen at Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed deputies! On behalf of the commission of the Chamber of Nations deputies, of the same composition as was read out in the first place when the Federal Assembly chairman was elected, allow me to acquaint you with the report on the election of the first deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly held on 12 December 1989. By secret ballot voting for the first deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, the commission reports that 133 voting cards were handed out to the deputies. After the end of the voting, the commission found that 132 deputies took part in the voting and that one deputy abstained, altogether 132 valid voting cards were cast. There were no invalid voting cards; 130 deputies voted for the nomination of deputy Jozef Stank to the post of first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, 2 votes were against.

As far as other deputy chairmen of the Federal Assembly are concerned, then 133 voting cards were handed out to the deputies. After the end of the voting the commission found that 133 deputies voted. Altogether 133 valid votes were cast. There were no invalid voting cards. The vote cast for the proposed candidates was as follows: for deputy Josef Bartoncik, Federal Assembly deputy chairman—81 votes for, 52 votes against; for Deputy Anton Blazej, 133 votes for were cast, none was against; for Deputy Jan Pampuch, 130 votes for, 3 votes were against. The electoral commission found that the proposed candidates were elected by a majority of above 50 percent from the number of the deputies of the Chamber of Nations, who were present. In Prague, 12 December 1989.

More Voting Results for Deputies

LD1312003489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2035 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Report by Deputy Janda, chairman of the Chamber of People Commission, at Federal Assembly session in Prague on 12 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, the commission of the deputies of the Chamber of Peoples, which was elected by secret ballot, reports that in the secret ballot for the first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, 175 voting cards were handed out to the deputies. After the voting concluded, the commission found that 175 deputies took part in the voting and that nobody abstained. Altogether, 175 valid voting cards were cast. There were no invalid voting cards. One hundred and seventy-four votes were cast for the proposed candidate, Jozef Stank. One vote was cast against Stank. The election commission found that the candidate proposed for the post of first chairman of the Federal Assembly was elected by a majority of the deputies of the Chamber of People. [applause]

As for the election of deputy chairmen of the Federal Assembly, the Commission of the Chamber of People Deputies' reports that 175 voting cards were handed out to the deputies for the purpose of electing deputy chairmen of the Federal Assembly. After the voting concluded, the commission found the following: 175 deputies took part in voting; nobody abstained; altogether 175 valid voting cards were cast; there were no invalid voting cards. The voting for the proposed candidates-deputies was as follows: Josef Bartoncik—123 votes for, 52 votes against; Anton Blazej—175 votes for, no votes against; Jan Pampuch—175 votes for, no votes against. The electoral commission established that the candidates proposed for the post of deputy chairmen of the Federal Assembly were elected by more than a majority of 50 percent of the deputies of the Chamber of People.

'68 Draft Statement Presented

LD1212224589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2035 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] [Session chairman Bohuslav Kucera] Now we come to the standpoint of the CSSR Federal Assembly on the entry of Warsaw Pact troops into CSSR in August 1968. The proposal will be delivered by Deputy Ludek Kapitola, who was given this task by the foreign committees of both chambers.

[Kapitola] Esteemed Federal Assembly, esteemed guests: We live in times when, due to a broad civic movement, which was brought about by a mass action of students, a space has been opened in our society to thoroughly apply the demands of democracy in its original sense: that is, the government of the people and for the people, and when, in connection with this historical process, conditions have been created to give a green light to the truth in all areas of our public life. However, this requires first of all that a number of claims are corrected with regard to the past development of our homeland, and in particular with the incorrect assessment of important events and facts.

One of the key issues in this area is the military intervention of the five countries of the Warsaw Pact which was carried out in August 1968 on the territory of our homeland. It is desirable that the Federal Assembly, as the highest body of the state power of the CSSR, make its view known on this important issue.

The Foreign and Constitutional-Legal Committees of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations have prepared a draft statement which has been put forward to you. This draft is based on three points:

First, on a statement that, by the entry of five member states of the Warsaw Pact to CSSR territory in 1968, valid norms of international law were violated, as well as principles of relations between sovereign states and, consequently, the sovereignty of the CSSR.

Secondly, on a conviction that the peoples of Czechoslovakia were able in 1968 to settle their vitally important problems on their own.

Thirdly, on a finding that the military intervention of five states of the Warsaw Pact prevented a political solution of the situation in Czechoslovakia and, on the contrary, contributed to the eradication of economic and social reform.

It was considered desirable that the draft statement express support for foreign political talks which the Czechoslovak Government is conducting on a legal solution of the issues connected with the evacuation of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory in such a way that, in a link-up to the all-European Helsinki process, stability and balance of interests of the Warsaw Pact member states, of NATO and of neutral states on the European continent is guaranteed.

We are pleased to state that the policy of new thinking in international relations spearheaded by Mikhail Gorbachev is creating barriers to the recurrence of events which our homeland went through in August 1968.

Assembly Approves Provisional Budget

LD1312104589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The 17th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations continues in the Federal Assembly building in Prague today. Here is a live report from Lubos Lidicky:

[Lidicky] The deliberations of the joint session were opened—and its opening chaired in part—by the new chairman of the Federal Assembly, Stanislav Kukral. It is also worth noting that present at the deliberations are

members of the new federal government of national understanding, led by Premier Marian Calfa.

Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus had a difficult task right at the start. He was to submit and explain to the deputies the state federal budget for 1990. He said that the federal budget already drafted did not meet the government's idea of a balanced, stabilizing, and anti-inflationary budget. He supported his assertion with concrete arguments by stating, first of all, that since the time the budget was first discussed, the political situation had completely changed. Secondly, the economic situation demanded that the budget be constructed as an anti-inflationary one. Thirdly, it was necessary to bring the budget into context with the Federal Government's program statement, which was to be submitted by the government as soon as possible. Therefore, instead of approving the state federal budget, the deputies approved a provisional budget for the period 1 January - 31 March 1990.

The deputies also discussed and approved the government draft bill on payments to the state budget. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Slovak Government Formation

Meeting Ends

LD1112234789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] After numerous meetings, consultations ended today between representative of Public Against Violence and the universities coordinating committee, Jan Buday, Vladimir Ondrus, Martin Butor, Laszlo Szigeti, and Zuzana Mistrikova on the one hand, and Academician Milan Cic, who has been entrusted to form the new Slovak Government, on the other. The outcome is an agreement whereby each of the ministers of the new government would put forward to the public as soon as possible the concept of the development of his or her department, and in particular explain the method by which he or she wants to eliminate any accumulated problems. The consultations have shown that some of the ministries will remain unfilled. This involves the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior and the Environment, and the post of the minister-chairman of the Committee of People's Control of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Government Appointments

LD1212171389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The new Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] was ceremoniously sworn in in Bratislava Castle today. Listen now to Anton Korodaly, chief of the Chancellery of the Slovak National Council:

[Korodaly] According to Article 122, Paragraph 1, Section A, of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, following deliberations in the Presidium of the National Front of the Slovak SSR, the following appointment has been made: Milan Cic, premier of the Government of the Slovak SR.

On the recommendation of the premier of the Slovak SR, Milan Cic, and following deliberations in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic, according to Article 122, Paragraph 1, Section A, of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the following appointments have been made:

Jozef Markus, first deputy premier;
Vladimir Ondrus, deputy premier;
Alexander Varga, deputy premier;
Dr. Vladimir Lexa, first deputy premier and chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development;
Michal Kovac, minister without portfolio of the Government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Finances, Prices, and Wages;
Ladislav Chudik, minister without portfolio of the Government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Culture;
Ivan Vesely, minister without portfolio of the Government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management and the Timber-Processing Industry;
Michal Rolko, minister without portfolio of the Government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism;
Miroslav Belansky, minister without portfolio of the government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food;
Jan Ducky, minister without portfolio of the government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Industry;
Dr Ladislav Kosta, minister without portfolio of the government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Justice;
Dr Ladislav Kovac, minister without portfolio of the government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education;
Ivan Steis, minister without portfolio of the government of the Slovak SR in charge of the Ministry of Construction and Building Industry;
Dr Maria Kolarikova, minister without portfolio of the government of the Slovak SR.

Further, according to Article 132 of Constitutional Law Number 143, dated 1968, of the Compilation of Laws on the Czechoslovak Federation, it has been decreed:

Academician Milan Cic, premier; Vladimir Ondrus, deputy federal premier, and Alexander Varga, deputy federal premier, will be in charge of the Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment until the appointment of the minister of the interior and living environment;

Jozef Markus, first deputy premier, will be in charge of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs until the appointment of the minister of health and social affairs;

Dr Maria Kolarikova will be in charge of the People's Control Committee of the Slovak SR until the appointment of the minister- chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Slovak SR; with the proviso that the minister of health and social affairs and the minister-chairman of the the People's Control Committee of the Slovak SR will be from the ranks of the members of the Democratic Party and the Freedom Party.

National Front Supports Government

LD1212121989 Prague CTK in English 0904 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 12 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Slovak National Front Central Committee supported the proposal for the composition of the new Slovak government, presented by Milan Cic, who was charged with forming a new Slovak-Government, at its session here last night.

The Presidium asked chairman of the Slovak Freedom Party Dusan Janota, who presided the meeting, to present the proposal for the composition of the new Slovak government to the Presidium of the Slovak National Council.

The participants in the session also discussed changes in the Slovak Election Commission of the National Front and recommended that all political parties, independent citizens, women, youth, nationalities and the Slovak regions be represented in it.

It recommended to hold talks with the coordinating commmittees of the Public against violence and Slovak universities and to ask them to submit a proposal for their representation in the Slovak National Front Election Commission. The proposal for the composition of the Slovak National Commission will be submitted to the Slovak National Front Central Committee.

The Presidium dealt with the candidature of Alexander Dubcek for the post of president.

Reportage on Support for Presidential Candidates

District Conference Proposes Adamec

LD0912144589 Prague CTK in English 1314 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—"Delegates to the extraordinary district conference in Svitavy recommend that Comrade Ladislav Adamec should run for presidency in Czechoslovakia", said a letter sent by participants of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Svitavy, South Moravia, to the Communist Party Central and regional committees.

The letter said that this issue should be discussed also by other extraordinary district conferences today and tomorrow.

The delegates to the conference in Svitavy said in their letter that in today's complicated and crisis period the state should be led by an experienced, determined and bold man who will prevent impediment of the process of restructuring and democratization.

Ladislav Adamec is a wise politician able to orientate himself in complicated situations. His election [as] head of state by the Federal Assembly would certainly help calm down the situation and find ways out of the crisis, the letter said, and concluded: We appeal to all district conferences of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in our country to support this demand".

Cisar Considers Running

LD1112151489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] CTK published a statement today by Cestmir Cisar on the presidential elections. In the statement he said that the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union has proposed him as another candidate for the post of president of the Republic. He is receiving numerous letters, telephone calls, and other similar signs of confidence.

Cestimir Cisar voiced the view that we should act democratically. All the candidates proposed should have equal conditions for fair competition, with any kind of discrimination, pressure, or accusation ruled out. The public should make its views known at meetings, in the media, and in other ways.

According to the Constitution, the election itself is a matter for the Federal Assembly, which unfortunately does not have the necessary authority. It could be strengthened for the remainder of its tenure if compromised people leave its ranks and if the deputies do not consider themselves bound by the earlier strict party discipline, and if they begin to be fully answerable only to their voters, respect their views, and honestly report these views in the parliament.

Cestmir Cisar stressed that he is not a member of any political party or political association, and considers himself an independent citizen.

He declared that he would make his decision to accept or reject his nomination as presidential candidate according to whether these principles are applied in putting forward and promoting the various people.

Prague Rally Backs Havel

LD1112173489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1304 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Speech by Jiri Bartoska at the Human Rights Day rally in Prague's Wenceslas Square—live]

[Text] Citizens, we all realize the historic significance of this moment. We are now creating a new Czechoslovakia, our future. If this future is not to be burdened by

the past, we must have guarantees. We see these guarantees in the person of the president of the Republic. [applause] The president must be not only a symbol, but also a protector of the will of both our nations. The Czechoslovak Republic must never become the tool of interests or even the property of one political party. [applause] This is an enduring task, which is exceptionally important in the preparation of free elections.

The best man, who, in the view of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence can fulfill these requirements; who is able to cope impartially and at a high moral level with the current situation; who has already proven his competence, resoluteness and tolerance; who has a clear vision [crowd begins to cheer] of new Czechoslovakia, is the playwright, Vaclav Havel. [cheering, chants "long live Havel"]

Up to the time when the freely elected Federal Assembly elects a new president of Czechoslovakia, we want our president to be Vaclav Havel. [cheering and shouts of "Havel"]

Sik Asks Dubcek To Support Havel

LD1112181989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The well-known economist, Professor Ota Sik, doctor of sciences, has sent an open letter to Alexander Dubcek on his candidature for the post of the new president. In the letter he recalls that the election will be carried out by the Federal Assembly which has not yet held free elections and expresses doubts whether this assembly will be capable of expressing the will of the great majority of the nation that Vaclav Havel be elected the new president. I believe, Ota Sik has said, that Alexander Dubcek should himself support Vaclav Havel and give up his candidature since free elections hve not yet been held. Vaclav Havel has enormous credit for the emergence of the Civic Forum and the majority of the nation see him as the head of democratic opposition.

Dubcek Tops Poll

LD1112224489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The Student Information Center at universities and colleges in Bratislava has evaluated an opinion poll held last week. Among the names of politicians polled for the office of president of the Republic, the name of Alexander Dubcek appeared most frequently. Although his name was not on all of the almost 5,000 poll papers returned, he won around five times more votes than the candidate who came second, Valtr Komarek, and 20 times more than the number of votes cast for Vaclav Havel and Ladislav Adamec.

PAV on Elections

LD1112231789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] In connection with the presentation of further possible candidates to the post of president of the Republic, Kamil Prochazka, speaking at a briefing held by the civic initiative Public Against Violence, in Bratislava today, outlined its standpoint on the matter. He stated that as soon as the candidates present their program, the Federal Assembly will decide the final outcome. He went on to say that it is the matter of each citizen to report to the relevant departments of the Public Security Service any reports of shredding or burning state security archives in various districts of Slovakia.

1968 Intervention, Events Assessed

Ex-Premier Strougal

LD0112183289 Prague CTK in English 1318 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—Lubomir Strougal told Czechoslovak Television that he resigned from his function of premier at the beginning of October 1988 because he had not enough strength to overcome "hesitant and even negative attitudes towards reforms" of the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership.

Lubomir Strougal said that "the tendencies to hold back reforms grew stronger after new General Secretary Milos Jakes took over late in 1987. In this case, the responsibility is borne by the comrades who had proposed and pushed through to the party's leadership a man without qualifications to cope with this function...".

The ex-premier continued that he had warned against police attacks against demonstrators and bore no responsibility for them. He regarded the refusal of a dialogue with authors of "A Few Sentences" and the program of the "revival", i.e. with representatives of opposition forces, as a political mistake of the leadership.

The former premier said that he did not succeed in defending his reservations to the document "Lesson Drawn From the Crisis Development" defending the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, and bore responsibility for it.

"Reform steps in the late 60s in Czechoslovakia were interrupted by the intervention and we returned to a neo-Stalinist concept of socialism," Lubomir Strougal added.

"It is necessary to say frankly that political decision-making after August 1968 was strongly influenced here by comrades from the Soviet Communist Party leadership, particularly by Brezhnev," the former premier stated, adding that he personally had never been received by Brezhnev. "In his eyes I simply was a revisionist."

Hajek Interview

LD0212130789 Prague CTK in English 1200 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 2 (CTK)—Former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek is of the view that the military action against Czechoslovakia in 1968 was caused by dogmatic attitudes of the people who then were at power in the neighbouring countries, with the exception of Romania and partially also Hungary.

In an interview carried by today's youth daily MLADA FRONTA he said that theoretical notions of socialism at that time remained at the level of the 1920's-1940's. And that any deviation was regarded as antisocialist just as later in Czechoslovakia during the period of consolidation.

Jiri Hajek said that he used various arguments to persuade the then Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, an experienced and intelligent diplomat who, however, told him in the end: What is decisive is the fact that the counter-revolutionary is raising its head in your country. He thus acted in harmony with orders from the leadership. This concept became finally a dogma used against all rational arguments.

Our main mistake was, Jiri Hajek went on, that we believed that they feel responsibility for socialism and that we can convince them that reforms do not harm socialism, but on the contrary, that they are to strengthen it.

At the same time it ensues from the interview with Jiri Hajek that there did not exist support for the reform movement in Czechoslovakia in the form of counter-pressure from the West.

Jiri Hajek recalled the statement by the then U.S. State Secretary Dean Rusk that the United States does not intend to interfere in the developments in Eastern Europe.

Jiri Hajek also recalled his meeting with Henry Kissinger, then U.S. President's adviser, in which Kissinger voiced sympathy for Czechoslovakia, but at the same time fears that it does not fall in conflict with its Soviet friends. This would make us very unhappy because we could hardly do anything, Kissinger said and added that important for the United States is maintenance of a balance of forces in Europe and the world.

Obroda's Cisar Compares 1968, Today

AU0712090389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Cestmir Cisar, one of the founding members of Obroda (Club for Socialist Restructuring) and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council in 1968, by unidentified CTK reporter—date and place not given]

[Text] [CTK] Could you briefly describe the Action Program of April 1968?

[Cisar] Under the circumstances of that time, the Action Program was, of course, courageous and enterprising. Today it could appear, particularly to the younger generation, to be an outdated document which would not suffice for today's needs. I agree with this; however, if the renewal process at that time had not been interrupted by military intervention and if we had been given a chance to fulfill our action program, I think our country would have developed in such a way that today we would have completely different problems than the recurring fundamental questions concerning the transfer to democratic socialism.

[CTK] The Prague Spring and the entry of Warsaw Pact armies into Czechoslovakia marked the rise and fall of the Czechoslovak model of socialism. The ideas of the Prague Spring, ideas which have so often been officially condemned, are still alive in the minds of many generations, including those which did not experience them. In your opinion, what is the main internal political reason for their lack of success?

[Cisar] The situation in the country was one in which everything that was negative and everything that opposed the Action Program did not have enough strength to overturn the democratic course. By this I do not mean that mistakes were not made. Those of us who were concentrating on the Republic's internal development, for example, did not fully appreciate the then pan-European situation, a situation that was still marked by the cold war, by two blocs confronting each other, and by the continuing closed nature of the east bloc. In this bloc there also prevailed a method of cooperation that, in essence, meant the member countries' subservience to the center which, at that time, was represented by the leadership of the Soviet Union.

[CTK] Do you see any common or, on the contrary, divergent traits between Prague's spring in 1968 and autumn in 1989?

[Cisar] I see a fundamental difference in the fact that in 1968 reform activity toward radical changes was formulated and built upon strength within the communist party. This activity immediately won support from broad sectors of society which, of course, were prepared for a reversal but which previously, when the party had a direct leading role, had not been able to express themselves freely enough politically. Soon the whole of society raised itself up and entered into political life. There was a fantastic unity between communists and the rest of the citizens, as far as aims were concerned. Nothing of the kind exists today. On the contrary, renewal, the struggle for democracy, and the struggle for a humanistically constituted socialism is being instigated by society itself and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, thanks to its incompetent leadership, remains the last force to enter into contemporary events.

[CTK] According to its name, Obroda is a club for socialist restructuring. Does this mean that the future of Czechoslovakia is associated with the development of socialism?

[Cisar] If Obroda has as its name Club for Socialist Restructuring, then our confidence is understandably expressed in this name that our country can go further along a socialist road. True, there is a great difference in how people perceive the concept of socialism. Stalinist, undemocratic, authoritative, totalitarian, dictatorial socialism is in tatters. It has been completely discredited. It is at great variance with what the pioneers of socialism during the 19th century wanted. These were people with idealistic ideas that society should live in a just system. All of this turned into empty phrases under Stalinist practices in the 20th century. Therefore, today the majority of people see socialism according to these damaging practices, practices that they have experienced. Therefore, it is one of our club's duties to unite all the national, democratic, and social traditions which had great moral and political significance as an impulse and as an impetus toward striving for a just society. We must rehabilitate socialism and imprint upon it a new and genuinely humane purpose.

1968 Termed 'Relapse of Stalinism'

AU0712202589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Dec 89 p 5

[Julius Loerincz commentary in the "Word on the Events" column: "The Cruelty, But Also Impotence of Violence"]

[Text] We who have jointly lived through so many significant, one can almost say fatal, past and present situations, we find it impossible to remain impersonal when commenting on various events - particularly those which we ourselves have witnessed in the past or are witnessing today. In August 1968, scarcely anybody who knew the attitude of many leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states toward the process of socialism's revival in Czechoslovakia, and who was able to think realistically, failed to consider the possibility of a military intervention in our internal affairs. But this was the worst and most tragic alternative of possible developments. Nevertheless, the shocking day of 21 August did arrive and we felt deceived and imposed upon, for it delivered a tragic and cruel blow to what was perhaps our naive, but nevertheless vivid, revolutionary romanticism, to our creative search for a possibility to renew the dynamics of socialism which at that time was so typical for our younger generation, with its passionate determinatrion (to use a simile) to conquer heaven. It meant a precipitate push into the frequently cynical reality of politics. The eyes of the young Soviet soldier who was involved in a discussion near his tank - which, we believed, was intended to merely help us to protect our independence and freedom reflected the same bewilderment as that which had overwhelmed us.

Why did it all happen? The official answers were brilliantly unambiguous, one-sided, simplified, and always ready to be quoted; any attempt to get more comprehensive and realistic answers was declared not merely suspect, but even hostile, and was therefore suppressed. Soviet historians, social scientists, journalists, but also politicians have been striving for years to analyze the year 1968, to come to terms with its tragic consequences, to apologize to the Czechoslovak people. But it was practically impossible for us report about such discussions. Actually, the countries which participated in that military intervention have since officially apologized, one after another. But what about our own country? Only a few weeks ago the authorities reacted to this process of logical and natural reassessment and cleansing with a painful silence, even with protests. It is shocking to read about a Soviet expert saying that the Soviet leadership was apparently fully prepared to satisfy the demands of justice, but was hindered in this by the stand adopted by the leading representatives of our own state.

The intervention in Czechoslovakia, all the historic links between the events of those times, the internal and external factors which played a role at the time and which affected the course of events, must be profoundly investigated and reevaluated. This means that the events must be assessed in all their contradictions, without new one-sided views, and that one must take into account the international situation existing at the time, the emergence of antisocialist trends, and also the mistakes of the acting political leadership in our country; they were recalled a few days ago by Cestmir Cisar, one of the leading representatives of the revival process of 1968, in an interview with a CTK reporter. Naturally, this means our apologizing and offering our hand to all those who have been unjustly accused and affected by discrimination. It also means that we must not tolerate slander against those who strove at that time, honestly and selflessly, out of the conviction that they were serving the interests of socialism, of the party, and of this country, to implement party policy under the complicated conditions of the following years—but who pointed out, time and again, the growing problems in the society and in the Communist Party itself.

We have heard with gratification that the Soviet Government, together with the representatives of the five states (Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the Soviet Union) which had sent their troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968, condemn the decision adopted at that time as mistaken, as a violation of the principles of sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in international affairs, and as an interruption of the democratic renewal of socialism in our country. [sentence as published] It was a cruel relapse of Stalinism, which delivered a harsh blow to all reform efforts also in other socialist countries. Today we must unravel all the problems which even at that time pushed their way to the agenda of the day, and do so under the present, far more difficult conditions, because it has become apparent that it is imperative to resolve them. Reality has affirmed the cruel consequences, but also the impotence, of the use of violence, and also its inability to open the doors to solutions. Even in the most complicated situation it is important to search for political means to settle problems. In this context we cannot but recall the words said

by Soviet commentator Stanisklav Kondrashev: "Whenever the nations' history and will are violated, sooner or later the bill for the violence is presented and the later this happens, the higher and harsher the bill."

Slovak Students 'Forgive' Events

LD0712154589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Some 2,000 Bratislava college students gathered yesterday afternoon under the ancient Devin castle. After an oath of loyalty to the nation, homeland, and democracy, they created a human chain around the castle. As a sign of forgiveness for the intervention of soldiers of five friendly armies in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the students threw five white blossoms into the Danube waters.

Commission To Analyze Events

LD0812201889 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak commision of historians which is to analyse the events of August 1968 was established here.

It is a joint commission of the Federal Government and the Civic Forum and will be further completed on the basis of proposals of the Slovak Government and the Public Against Violence.

The task of the commission is to analyse and reassess the development in the period from January 1968 till the end of 1970 and special attention should be paid to the period from January 1968-April 1969. The commission will issue a report on the results of its work and prepare groundwork for a standpoint of the government. Primarily, at the latest by the end of January 1990, the issue of historical, political, moral and legal responsibility for the development in the mentioned period will be elaborated.

The Commission will also invite Czechoslovak citizens who could provide important evidence. On the basis of an inter-government agreement, it will cooperate with similar commissions of historians in other Warsaw Treaty countries.

Bank Official on 'Gold Treasure'

LD1112211889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Many questions linked to the events of 1968 have emerged. Among them is the fate of the gold treasure of the Republic which was formed through a voluntary collection among our citizens.

According to (Jiri Bruk), director general of the Czechoslovak State Bank, the treasure—the so-called gold currency supply—is still kept in the bank's vaults. This currency supply is at the disposal only of the federal government. Money, consisting of donated cash, was added to the fund. The major part of it was then transfered to the state budgets of the two national republics for the construction of social care institutes. The remainder has gradually grown to today's sum of Kcs 100,039,000.

Bilak Denies 1968 Responsibility

LD1212220689 Prague CTK in English 2052 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—"I was legally elected member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee by the Congress ...I do not see any reason for resigning before a congress of which I know that will not elect me," Vasil Bilak told CTK here today.

Answering a question concerning the appeal of the Communist Party Cenral Committee that members who have reached the pension age and who no longer represent anybody should resign, Vasil Bilak said that "if the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee meets before its extraordinary congress due in a few days I will resign at such a session."

Speaking about the situation in the country after November 17, Bilak said "it is very bad. What has happeded should not have happened. I do not understand how it is possible that this has happened, that what has happened was allowed."

Asked to comment on the entry of the armies of five Warsaw Treaty member states into Czechoslovakia in 1968 Bilak said that a commission is to be set up to investigate this and added "I do not wish to reassess what is in the charge of the commission."

Asked whether he feels responsible for August 21, 1968 Bilak answered: "I do not at all feel guilty as everyone has to know what the situation was at that time, what the allies pursued at that time. They were afraid that a third world war was imminent and were ensuring the safety of borders, the safety of the socialist community...Workers of the Praga Works, thousands of people wrote about it. Let anyone have a look into the archives how many letters arrived in the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee in which their writers begged for aid. The allies came to the conclusion ...that they realy cannot pardon the liquidation of something for which twenty million people died. They regarded the entry into our territory as necessary. But do not believe that if you write today a letter asking them to come they or anyone else will come," he told the CTK reporter in conclusion.

* Draft of CPCZ Action Program Published

90EC0146A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 89 pp 1-2

[RUDE PRAVO headline: "Toward a Democratic Socialist Society in CSSR"]

[Text] The Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee decided to submit to the party and the nation the draft of the CPCZ Action

Program. It stems from the urgent need to give communists and the entire society answers to questions which arose as a result of the current crisis. In a situation when tension in the society is mounting, the party must renew without hesitation its ability to play an important role in the political processes. It can achieve that only as a numerous and strong organization. It also presents it with the task of maintaining its membership base, of preventing it from shrinking. But as a condition for restoring the confidence of the membership base as well as the public in our policies, the party must immediately distance itself from deformed political methods. We consider it essential to free the party from the burden of the past, particularly the tragic years 1968-69.

Whatever course the dialogue concerning views on these questions will take, it must not damage the unity of the party. On the contrary, the action program must be the platform of this unity. The discussions about its content must not impair this unity and thus also the strength and the ability of the party to act.

Whoever at this moment puts the unity of the party at risk, puts at risk its continued existence, puts at risk the fate of hundreds of thousands of Czechoslovak Communists. Our unity is our greatest strength.

With the action program, which we submit, we are entering a new struggle.

We are presenting here the full text of the document:

The Czechoslovak Communist Party submits for consideration the draft of its position on the situation and of its objectives for the future. It thus wants to contribute to a constructive resolution of the current crisis, and at the same time give an answer to the question what to do in order to restore the activity and ability of the party to act, to disassociate it resolutely from past mistakes and start it unfailingly on a new road. We consider all that to be a prerequisite for restoring the confidence and support of the workers and the young people.

The extraordinary congress will decide what future steps the party will take. The newly elected central committee will begin a struggle for a radical restructuring of the party and for the restoration of its influence on social developments. It will also plan the regular 18th Party Congress.

Fundamental Reversal of Party Policies

The causes of the current events lie in a deep dissatisfaction of the people with the current administrative, bureaucratic concept of socialism.

The development of our society strayed considerably away from the ideals of socialism. The end result of our past mistakes, which we still must submit to a responsible analysis, was a serious deformation of socialism. Also, our citizens embraced with great expectations the idea of a social perestroika, which was promulgated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and connected with the activities of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. Although the former party leadership adopted the documents on the restructuring of society, their realization was inconsistent, and the leadership did nothing more than talk about democratization and dialogue. It expected that the profound changes which the entire socialist world is undergoing will bypass Czechoslovakia. It refused to carry out a fundamental criticism of Stalinist deformations in Czechoslovakia. People therefore lost confidence that the party will actually carry out the restructuring. The initiative was seized by others.

The basic conclusion, which we draw from the current crisis, is to carry out a fundamental reversal in the party politics. We absolutely and definitely part with the old concept of a leading role of one party, supported by a monopoly of power and ideology. We commit ourselves to a humanistic and democratic socialism. We are embarking on the road to a dialogue with other political forces and movements. We follow on the democratic traditions of our nations, on the tradition of creative politics and a linkage of the party with the people, which were manifested in the national, democratic revolution in February 1948, as well as in the efforts at reforms in January 1968.

We commit ourselves to solving the current problems by political means toward national understanding, by which society will overcome today's tensions. At the same time we emphasize that without the CPCZ, which has its irreplaceable position in the political system of our society, it will not be possible to solve any of the current problems on a democratic basis and in a calm manner. We consider confrontations and ultimatums, efforts to one-sidedly seize the movement in society, to be a threat to the development of our country.

Parting With the Past is Condition for Renewal of Party

In the present crisis the overriding task is the renewal of the Communist Party and its unity through revolutionary restructuring. Our ideological platform is Marxism-Leninism, stripped of the dogmatic encrustations. The renewal of the party means getting rid of the blank spaces in its history. By proclaiming eternal truths and by using bureaucratic command methods, the policy of the CPCZ broke away from the democratic traditions of our nations, gave up the concept of the Czechoslovak road to socialism, and embraced the deformed Stalinist concept.

Central to the renewal of the party is coming to terms in an honest way with the tragic events of 1968. In spite of all the complications of the international political situation at that time and the growing discords in our party and our society, as well as the appearance of antisocialist tendencies, we are of the opinion that the entry of the armies of five socialist countries was unsubstantiated and the decision for it erroneous. This step put a stop to the process of the renewal of socialism, which our

party initiated in January 1968. Therefore, after analyzing all the historical connections we shall critically re-evaluate our attitude toward these events, including the document Lessons From a Crisis in the Party and Society following the 18th Congress of the CPCZ, and submit the resolution to the 19th CPCZ Congress.

The party parted with passive and otherwise oriented members, to be sure, but to its detriment it also parted with thousands of honest communists. The new party leadership now extends to them their hand offering cooperation and even entry into the rejuvenated party. At the same time it stands behind all those who, out of the conviction that they were serving the interests of socialism, the party, and this country, have been implementing in a disciplined manner its policies under the very complicated circumstances existing at the time. We therefore reject the efforts to disgrace them.

The CPCZ must be turned into an active political force, into a modern political party open to new initiatives. Only basic changes in the character, position and internal life of the party will create conditions which will enable it to share fully in the development of a modern democratic and socialist society.

The internal life of the party did not avoid administrative and bureacratic procedures. An excess of directives, resolutions which were not implemented, the directing of lower-level units through orders and commands, a multitude of required statements and reports, all that distracted the party from the political work of communists among the workers and the young people.

A pluralism of views and principles of democratic dialogue need to be applied within the party. The published draft statutes do not express this need. We shall submit entirely new draft statutes, which will be submitted after extensive discussions to the regular CPCZ Congress.

We shall do everything in order to become the mass party of the working class, farmers and the intelligentsia, the party of the working people, the party of the young people, the party of the people. We ask for the support of everyone who is committed to a further socialist development of our country.

Democracy for Everyone

In political life we profess the principles of true democracy for everyone without any reservations. We want to earn our standing and political influence by our actions. We shall strive for it every day in an equal competition with other political parties and social forces. It is not our intention that a political membership should open doors to where they can be open only by real abilities, diligence and character. We are in favor of choosing and placing managers above all on the basis of their qualifications and professional competence. The access to leading functions must be open to the most able and morally strong people without regard to their political affiliation and other considerations.

We are in favor of political pluralism, which will find its expression in a new concept of the National Front. We see the point of gravity for creating state policy primarily in the representative bodies—the Federal Assembly, national councils and national committees, formed on the basis of free, democratic and secret elections according to proportionate representation. We are in favor of working out and adopting new election laws, which would make it possible for all political parties, social organizations and other democratic associations and initiatives to put up their own candidates independently.

We speak in favor of a socialist, well functioning government of laws, where the supremacy of the constitution and the laws is fully valid, where the state power is applied only on the basis of the law and within its limits, and its function is subject to control from the point of view of constitutionality and legality, where the freedom of the citizen is limited only by his obligations established by law. For that reason we support the decision to establish a constitutional court of law, the introduction of an administrative judiciary authorized to review the decisions of administrative agencies at citizens' request, the guarantee of judiciary independence and the broadening of the courts' authority in investigations, and the establishment of guarantees of independent performance of advocacy.

Socialist democracy, however, cannot be limited merely to political rights. An integral component of our democracy is also a real participation in the right to share in the administration of the national ownership, the right to work, a right to free education and health care and other social certainties which socialism brought.

We are in favor of a new formulation of the defence and security policy. The agencies of the National Security Guard must work within the framework of the law, under the democratic control of the representative bodies. We propose that the Peoples' Militia, which served and is serving the interests of the people, be made subordinate to the government.

We shall see to it that the new CSSR Constitution creates full guarantees of citizens' rights in accord with the needs of socialist development as well as with our international obligations. We are in favor of expediting the presentation and discussion of the draft laws on the rights of association, assembly, press, and petitioning. We favor a new law on academic institutions, with the proviso that the academic institutions, students, and their organizations actively participate in formulating it. We are in favor of the suggestion to hold a nationwide conference of the Union of Socialist Youth to draft and debate the draft law on youths. We consider it necessary to reassess and modify the amendments to the criminal law, felony law, the penal code, the law on imprisonment, and the draft law on misdemeanors. The necessary amendment to the defense law by the announced reduction of the basic military service and introduction of reserve service must be finalized.

The development of socialist self-government, which we consider to be the main trend in the development of the political system, requires also a substantial strengthening of the role, authority, and responsibility of the national committees, particularly at their basic level—local and municipal national committees. We shall enforce the strengthening of their sovereignty, autonomy, economic independence, and ability to create their own income base.

The CPCZ will continue to strengthen the idea of a united Czechoslovak statehood, based on the federated system. It will respect fully the sovereignty of both nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, and contribute to their mutual understanding and cooperation. It will see to it that national minorities have a realistic share in the life of the country and equal conditions for their development.

Strong Economy—Strong Social Policy

We see the main task in the economic and social sphere in the support of all steps leading to a greater efficiency of our economy. That requires above all its restructuring, incorporation into the current processes of technological revolution, and opening up to the world. The principles of social justice must be forcefully applied, particularly in the area of rewarding on the basis of the work results of collectives and individuals. We also consider it urgent to turn the economy toward social needs, support the improvement of material conditions for education, culture, health care and other components of the nonproductive sphere. We shall without doubt face the danger of economic disruptions, uncontrolled inflation, and excessive indebtedness to foreign countries. All that is a condition for maintaining and improving the standard of living, as well as halting the deterioration of the environment.

We shall endeavor to win over all working people, as the real managers and co-owners of the means of production, to the economic reforms. The first steps of the economic reform already have been taken on our initiative. They are hampered, however, by compromises and inconsistency. Here, in particular, it is essential to achieve a decisive turn-around. We expected that the restructuring of the economic mechanism will lead to a simplification of the tortuous economic and organizational linkages and will rid it of bureaucratism. The party will see to it that the regulation of the economy by the state will be carried out mainly by instruments of the financial and currency policy, and that a functioning socialist market is fully developed. A socially just, stable, and unified tax system has to be devised. We also support the requirement of a simple, comprehensible wage system which would effectively link the interests of individuals and collectives to national interests and stimulate quality work. We resolutely reject egalitarianism and all forms of parasitism. We speak in favor of a strong social policy which would protect particularly families with children, retirees, young people, and other socially weaker groups. We are for equal rights for the various forms of national and individual ownership while maintaining the decisive role of the national ownership. The socialist substance of our society depends on it. We are convinced that it is possible and necessary to implement economic reform on a socialist foundation without any great social upheaval, while fully respecting the interests of the working class and the broad strata of working people. At the same time we reject concepts which indirectly make the restoration of dynamics in the economy and of making use of the market conditional on a return to capitalist economic methods. We are committed to finalizing and adopting with dispatch a short-term program for the restoration and strengthening of economic equilibrium, based primarily on the mobilization of the internal unused potential and resources of our economy and on a program of basic measures for the improvement of all elements of the environment, program of structural changes, and gradual transition to the convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna. Their realization must be linked with the realization of the economic reforms.

We consider further economic cooperation with the USSR, as our key partner, and with other socialist countries, essential. We support a substantial broadening of all forms of economic and technological cooperation with nonsocialist countries.

The party considers the protection and improvemnt of the environment and the achievement of a fundamental turn-around in its recovery and responsible treatment to be of top priority. It will insist that the ecological criteria be consistently applied in implementing structural changes, in investement policy, in decisionmaking at all levels of the central and local management. We speak in favor of a public review of environmental questions with citizens' participation. That includes providing full information of the state of the environment, a thorough control over fullfilment of appropriate legal norms and regulations adopted by state agencies, primarily in the most afflicted areas in Prague, the North Bohemian region, Bratislava, the Ostrava agglomeration and other locations. We support the participation of the enviromentalist movement in solving these questions.

In the present tense situation, the party considers it essential to stress the responsibility of all political parties, movements, and citizens for an uninterrupted running of production and guaranteed supply of necessities for the people. The events cannot be allowed to escalate into economic chaos and lead to a destabilization of the economy. The party will defend the independent responsibility and authority of industrial managers.

We are totally opposed to the efforts to inject the political struggle into economic tasks. On the contrary, necessary political conditions must be created in order to cope with the challenging transition to the new economic mechanism.

Renew Cultural and Moral Standards

The party understands the development of culture in national life as one of the crucial tasks of today. It is committed to the principle of open policy and full availability of information to the public. Not adhering to

this principle leads to serious mistakes and harm. The citizens have the right to be fully informed. We are in favor of every organization or group having the right to publish their own printed matter.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party supports the guarantee of access to state information media to all democratic forces for their use, and therefore it proposes to create within them program councils composed of representatives of parties and main social organizations of the National Front and other civic movements. In our publishing houses we shall ensure a responsible adherence to legal and ethical norms and we shall respect basic national interests and will expect the same from others.

As communists, we embrace the Marxist-Leninist world view. We consider it to be an open system which must be continually developed and enriched by new scientific knowledge. We shall defend the freedom of opinion, conviction, and religious belief.

We think that the overriding task for educational institutions is to lead pupils and students toward independent creative work. At the same time we must strive for commensurate material and social conditions for the work of teachers and schools. We are in favor of state support for mass physical education particularly for children and young people.

We are convinced that the renewal of socialism must be based on the renewal of moral values. We are determined to speak against manifestations of double morality, against discrepancies between words and deeds, against all instances of abuse of functions, corruption, illegal enrichment and unearned advantages. Patriotism and a natural desire to benefit one's country must be a moral imperative for everyone.

We commit ourselves to free creative activities in science and other spheres of intellectual life, we are against any underrating of the value of science and against its insufficient application in practice. The results of scientific work must be approached from the point of view of science, not with ideological prejudices or administrative measures. It is possible to express criticism of different viewpoints, but as in all other areas, tolerance must be exercised.

We commit ourselves to a new concept of the cultural policy of the party, stemming from the vital importance of art in the life of a society, from a total respect for the freedom of artistic creation and creative search. Administrative agencies cannot make decisions about the worth of artistic works. The artists themselves must make decisions about their organizations and their activities. We support the opening up of Czechoslovak culture and art to the world. We must strive for a fundamental improvement of the capital and material base for cultural activities as well as for the care of cultural relics.

We are the Party of the Working People

Since its inception, the CPCZ grew as the spokesman for the working class and all working people and a defender of their interests. It will never act differently. It will strive for a renewal of a real linkage with the working class. The party considers the struggle to improve its standing in production and society as one of its main tasks.

We are in favor of maintaining trade union unity, of full development of a democratic trade union life, and the role of trade unions in protecting the interests and rights of the working people. In our judgment, trade unions must play a substantially greater role under the present circumstance than they did thus far, and be given every opportunity to make independent decisions about their approach.

We shall continue to push through such measures as will guarantee further development of the socialist village and further improvement in the quality of life of the rural population, and at the same time give the greatest attention to the interests of cooperative farmers in whom the party sees the support of its policies. We shall support a continued growth of the cooperative movement which must have substantially greater importance in our social and economic life. We commit ourselves to increasing the role of agricultural, consumer, and housing cooperatives.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has great respect for the intelligentsia. It is one of the traditions of the party that it has relied on its support and had in its ranks its best representatives. We must restore this tradition, which was eroded by an insensitive attitude. We are in favor of ensuring a broad participation of the intelligentsia in the formulation of policies.

The party is mindful of its responsibility to the young generation. It will endeavor to make it possible for the new generations to keep in step with global progress. We commit ourselves to making high school and college education accessible and to its further democratization. We are in favor of giving young people, who in the past several weeks gained much political experience, a commensurate representation in our political system. We shall strive to achieve a consistent solution of serious social problems of the young people, particularly in the housing policy, wage levels, and health care.

For a continued healthy growth of society and its primary precondition for a healthy spiritual and physical development of the population, we consider it essential to change the present attitudes on the current status of women. We shall endeavor to have society create adequate conditions for a truly free choice for women to bring up children without endangering the material well-being of the family because of low income, particularly in young marriages. At the same time we shall also push through increased participation of women in national decisionmaking and an unfailing respect for the right of women to use their skills and professional competence under the same conditions as men. Our concept of economic growth presupposes also a growth

of services on which the increase of their free time depends. We are in favor of preserving the right of women to make decisions about their motherhood.

Open up to the World

In foreign policy, the CPCZ will unequivocally pursue the course of opening up Czechoslovakia to the world. We must make much greater use of the possibilities which present themselves as a result of the profound changes in the world. We shall endeavor to have our foreign policy implement our national interests and contribute to the formulation of external conditions for a peaceful development of our country and the security of our state.

During the current tempestuous developments in Europe and in the world, we continue to see the main guarantee of our national security in the alliance with the USSR. It is our position that cooperation should develop on the basis of equality and bi-lateral advantage, on the principle of brotherly relationship between our nations which has been given a new impetus and space by the program of restructuring. We shall consistently uphold the fulfillment of our international obligations, stemming particularly from our membership in the defense organization of the Warsaw Pact. We shall support continued deepening of cooperation, alliance, and friendly relations with other socialist countries from the viewpoint of Czechoslovak interests. And increase good relations also with other nonsocialist countries.

We are fully behind the idea of building a common European home. With its entire history, the rich fabric of its traditional relations, Czechoslovakia is inseparably linked to the European economy, culture, and civilization. It must therefore take a dignified place in the newly constructed common European home. We are convinced of the necessity to achieve as soon as possible radical results in decreasing the conventional forces and arms in Europe. We wish to contribute actively to a gradual creation of conditions for dissolving the military blocs which divide Europe. We favor the departure of all foreign armies from the territories of other countries. Our constant goal remains a world without nuclear arms and other instruments of mass destruction.

At the same time we stand unconditionally behind the post-war order in Europe. Any doubts cast on existing political and territorial realities we shall consider to be a serious breach of the principles of the Helsinki Accord, a threat to the stability and security of the European continent.

The CPCZ is in favor of integrating our country into the stream of global economic and technological cooperation. We are unequivocally in favor of a free flow of ideas and people and of removing the administrative and ideological barriers which are now preventing it. We are in favor of an active participation of Czechoslovakia in international, particularly European, political and economic organizations.

By removing the currently existing barriers we wish to create new space for a close cooperation with communist parties, with parties of the Socialist International, and all the leftist, democratic, and progressive movements in Europe and all the world.

We are fully convinced that the ideals of socialism are deeply anchored in the thinking and traditions of our people, and that they will continue to receive their support. At issue is the fulfillment of the historical mission of socialism as the progressive, democratic, and humanistic future state of mankind. The Communist Party, which irrevocably parts with the deformations of the past, will fight for that. We believe that we shall gain the support of the citizens of our country.

Modrow, W. Berlin's Momper Discuss Cooperation

LD1212201289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1926 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—More intensive practical cooperation between the GDR and (West) Berlin was at the center of this evening's exchange of opinion between GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the governing mayor of (West) Berlin, Walter Momper. At the first official meeting between both politicians, which took place in the Berlin "Johannishof" Hotel, the current situation in the GDR was also discussed. Taking part in the meeting were Erhard Krack, Berlin's chief mayor, and Franz Bertele, head of the FRG permanent mission in the GDR.

Senate Spokesman Wener Kolhoff told journalists that Momper wants to propose an offer for rapid aid during the talk. The Senate has worked out proposals on this in the past days. Kolhoff named the medical area as an example. [passage omitted]

Further on Talks

LD1312001689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2314 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, met the governing mayor of Berlin (West), Walter Momper, at the "Johannishof" Hotel in Berlin today. During their talks, Modrow outlined the comprehensive process of renewal in the GDR. He explained the possibilities this affords for the expansion of cooperation with West Berlin on the basis of the Quadripartite Agreement. The precondition for this is respect for the realities that are an indispensible condition for political stability in Europe. An important precondition remains the realization of the joint responsibility for peace.

The two sides spoke in favor of the inclusion of West Berlin in a treaty-based community for cooperation in the economy, science, transport, environmental protection, culture, health services, sports, and tourism.

The governing mayor explained the Senate's proposal to establish a regional committee. Apart from representatives of the governments of the two German states, this body should include representatives of the [East Berlin] city government and the [West Berlin] Senate.

There was agreement that all efforts should be made to prevent misuse of traffic that would damage the economy. Talks and measures are envisioned in particular to prevent moonlighting and trade in drugs and arms.

Other topics were the opening of new border crossing points, the restoration of subway connections, and the establishment of planned long-distance rail connections.

Modrow expressed the interest of the GDR in deepening economic cooperation between enterprises on both sides and also the readiness, if necessary, to make available to West Berlin concerns storage and commercial space on GDR territory.

In order to improve organized tourism, the GDR is ready to commence negotiations on setting up or expanding the use of hotel capacity and on the use of camping and caravan sites.

In view of the reconstruction of the Berlin Philharmonia, in 1990 and 1991 the Berlin Schauspielhaus will be available to orchestras from West Berlin.

There was agreement on paying tribute to the recent progress in cooperation achieved in culture, environmental protection, and in the development of local contacts between the capital of the GDR and West Berlin.

Both sides want to work to make Berlin (West) and the capital of the GDR a center of new impetuses for East-West cooperation in the heart of Europe. For instance, future activities involved in the overall European process, aimed at strengthening security and cooperation, should find a place here.

Mayor Erhard Krack and the head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR, Franz Bertele, took part in the meeting.

At a concluding news conference, it was announced that the regional committee can work on a provisional basis with immediate effect. Frankfurt (Oder) and Potsdam areas [bezirkes] are also included in this body. Walter Momper stated that in the businesslike 3-hour talk, all questions of mutual interest were addressed, including transport issues, tourism, protection in cases of catastrophe, economic cooperation, and hard currency problems. The governing mayor referred in this connection to the economic and currency differences between West Berlin and the GDR, which had led to understandable concerns on the GDR side. The governing mayor said that the Senate wants to help prevent a selling off of the GDR.

In Walter Momper's view, the further shaping of intra-German relations must be incorporated in the European peace process. Prime Minister Modrow stated that today's talk was an expression of the fact that a start has now been made on shaping intra-German relations in a totally new way. As a consequence, the meeting with the governing mayor led to no changes in the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement. Asked about opening the Brandenburg Gate, the prime minister answered that this will occur "in due course."

At the end of the news conference, Walter Momper announced that he has invited Hans Modrow for a meeting in West Berlin, which is likely to take place in mid-January.

Krack Proposes Contacts Between Both Berlins

LD1312130189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1201 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack today proposed at the 14th meeting of the assembly of city councillors that official contacts with the West Berlin House of Deputies be sought.

On the basis of the interests of citizens, the assembly of city councillors of the GDR capital and the municipal authorities should be guided by the desire to acknowledge fully their positions in national and international life, he said, with reference to yesterday's talks between GDR government leader Hans Modrow and West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper.

Krack stressed that there was "the historic chance of developing neighborly relations with the other part of the city, which creates the basic elements for a future European peace order." The municipal authorities declared "their unconditional readiness to make an independent contribution, in accordance with state policy, to ensuring that Berlin can become a pivot in the cross-system cooperation of social orders, a pillar of the future European home."

Here, in the mayor's words, the city parliament and the municipal authorities should be guided solely by the broad agreement of interests with the citizens and the Senate of West Berlin.

With 9 November—it was on this day that the GDR opened its borders to the FRG and to West Berlin—"our horizons have broadened, and our responsibility has increased," Krack said. He agreed with Momper that this had been a day of reunion for mankind, not a day of reunification. It had been agreed to do everything possible to ensure that the new travel possibilities were imbued with life and that further border crossings were opened. It was important to normalize local cooperation in the interest of citizens and to extend it further. [passage omitted]

Discusses City's Situation

LD1312112589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1009 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During the assembly of city councillors, today the Berlin municipal authorities intend to raise the question of trust. Mayor Erhard Krack announced this in his introductory speech on the standpont of the municipal authorities regarding the situation in the city and proposals for further work.

The role of the assembly of city councillors, as Berlin's supreme organ of power, had not been adequately guaranteed in the past. The hesitancy of the municipal authorities over the past weeks had resulted in further loss of citizens's trust. Erhard Krack stressed to the people's representatives that in spite of the manifestations of crisis, it had been possible to keep the city operating, on the whole.

Since the start of the year, the mayor said, a total of 18,231 Berlin citizens had left the GDR with state approval, while 208 emigrants had returned from the FRG and West Berlin. The plan shortfalls in industrial goods and construction had increased further, and it was not even possible to reach lowered targets. Almost 1 Berlin shop or restaurant in 10 had been forced to restrict opening hours because of staff shortages.

Irrespective of the intensive work by doctors, nurses, and many helpers, the situation in the health system had deteriorated, and cancellations in the transportation sector had increased.

Poll Says Protesters Oppose Reunification

LD1312101689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0333 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The most important finding of a survey conducted among demonstrators in Leipzig by the Central Institute for Youth Research has been described by department head Professor Dr Peter Foerster as the fact that a large majority of citizens are basically against any absorption of the GDR by the FRG, and favor confederative structures between the two German states.

In today's edition of the daily paper JUNGE WELT, the scientist also made the assessment that there were clearly connections between these responses and Leipzig's disastrous situation. The civic identity of the demonstrators in Leipzig was far less marked than on the general republic scale.

The newspaper publishes the results of the survey in detail. Of the 75 percent of those questioned who were "very much in favor" or "rather for than against unification," 68 percent nevertheless favored a state federation in which the GDR and the FRG cooperated closely, but were politically independent. A total of 56 percent of those questioned expressed fear that violence and aggression might increase.

Modrow Receives FRG Communications Minister

LD1212174189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1343 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow was briefed in Berlin on Tuesday by Dr Christian Schwarz-Schilling, FRG minister of posts and telecommunications, about the negotiations conducted on the same day with his GDR counterpart, Klaus Wolf, for better cooperation between the two German states in the postal and telecommunications sector.

Schwarz-Schilling said that they talked very "factually" about immediate measures and also about longer-term

projects. The former issues mainly concern the Christmas mail and the expected expansion of telephone traffic between the GDR and the FRG.

A good working relationship was achieved by both ministers, Hans Modrow stressed. This offers a guarantee that in the new stage, qualitiatively new cooperation measures will be introduced. Thus, successful work has been done in preparation for the upcoming meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Genscher Visits E. Berlin, Meets Eppelmann

LD1212163289 Hamburg DPA in German 1428 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed the need for immediate help for the GDR during a lightning visit to the GDR today. The minister spoke to Pastro Rainer Eppelmann of Democratic Departure about the current situation in the GDR and the concerns of people in the country. "Anyone who wants to prevent a mass exodus must bring help to the people," Genscher told Second German Television. He mentioned, among other things, medical care, environmental protection, and traffic measures. At the same time, the minister stressed the need for free elections in the GDR.

Genscher used his stay in Berlin along with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker for a private visit in the eastern half of the city. Over the weekend, he intends to visit his home town of Halle. To GDR citizens who greeted Genscher in East Berlin, he said: "I shall return."

Pastor Eppelmann, in whose apartment the meeting took place, said that GDR citizens would "expect swift and clear signs of solidarity." We must "have time to find ourselves anew," he explained. GDR citizens have felt betrayed by their leadership for decades and are not prepared "to be the poor relations again for 10 or 15 years." FRG citizens must have understanding and try to put themselves in the position of the citizens of the GDR.

GDR, FRG Armies To Meet Next Year

LD1212143989 Hamburg DPA in German 1226 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Dresden (DPA)—High-ranking officers of the Federal Army and the GDR National People's Army will meet at the beginning of next year in Dresden for talks on security policy. This was announced Tuesday by Dieter Lutz, deputy head of the Hamburg Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy. Members of the institute have been paying a first visit to the Friedrich Engels military academy in Dresden, the highest military training center in the GDR, within the framework of an international East-West workshop.

Erich Hocke, a lecturer at Dresden Academy, stressed during a discussion with participants in the workshop that the GDR wants further contacts with the FRG also in the area of security policy. Both defense alliances and the two German states have to arrive at cooperative structures. "We are not the ones who are reticent in this area," Hocke said. The GDR Defense Ministry, according to Major General Rolf Lehmann, deputy director of the academy, has now worked out a draft paper on very liberal arrangements for foreign contacts by National People's Army officers.

The ministry said the academic institutes are currently working on strategies for military reform and a new national military doctrine for the GDR. According to Lehmann, the focus will be on the "mature citizen in uniform," and democratization and state legality will enter the Armed Forces. "The Army will no longer be the state within the state." Access to the Armed Forces should be open to all, irrespective of party allegiance and world view. However, it is difficult to push back the influence of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], since almost the entire officer corps consists of SED members at present.

The draft of a new military doctrine calls for a system of cooperative security and the creation of a state of mutual incapacity for aggression. The two alliances should progressively be transformed into politico-military organizations. The military doctrine should, of course, be embedded in the overall doctrine of the Warsaw Pact, but at the same time should take account of the specific security interests of the GDR.

According to Hocke, so far some 30,000 soldiers of the National People's Army have had to be put to work in sectors such as transport and health, in order to fill the gaps left by the wave of emigrations by GDR citizens. "But this cannot be a permanent situation, especially as considerable social problems are associated with it," Hocke stressed.

Baden-Wuerttemberg Official Arrives for Visit

LD1012151489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0925 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—A delegation from the state government of Baden-Wuerttemberg, led by its Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth, Christian Democratic Union, today arrived for a 2-day visit to the GDR. Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer welcomed the guests at Dresden's Klotzsche airport. During the 1st day of the visit, meetings are planned with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Berghofer himself.

On Expanding Relations

LD1012155689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1323 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Practical opportunities for cooperating in all social areas between the Dresden region and the FRG federal state Baden-Wuerttemberg were discussed in Dresden today. They are to range from

creating new sister cities via joint economic enterprises to cultural exchanges. These matters were discussed by Dresden's chief mayor, Wolfgang Berghofer, and Baden-Wuerttemberg Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth. The meeting was attended by experts from politics, industry, science, and the arts of both sides, as well as representatives of all the parties represented in Dresden's City Council and democratic grass-roots groups. Wolfgang Berghofer and Lothar Spaeth proceeded from the premise that today's talks—rounds of talks by experts have been announced for the remainder of the day—aim at bringing about noticeable improvements for the everyday life of the citizens of both sides in the shortest possible time.

Mindful of the good experiences made in the sister-city relationship with Hamburg, there was no need to begin at point zero, Wolfgang Berghofer said. He can imagine a joint society for the development of Dresden, as well as a Dresden foundation, cross-border environmental protection, and creating sister- city relations between Dresden and Stuttgart, as well as other towns in the two territories. All this, the politician said, serves the stabilization in the GDR, and thus stability in Europe. Dresden seeks to bring into play its rich potential for the development of Europe, for security, as well as for an economic and ecological security partnership. Berghofer sketched out in detail the deep crisis in the GDR and its third-largest city, where administrative- centralistic socialism led to devasting contradictions and stagnation. Loss of identity and solidarity with the homeland went hand in hand with it.

Lothar Spaeth said he does not believe in observations from afar, instead concrete steps should be taken. So he said when commenting on his reasons for visiting Dresden. Referring to Baden-Wuerttemberg's relations with Italian, French, and Spanish regions, he said that such links, in particular, are of value. They make it possible to do what can not yet be done at a higher level. He welcomed contacts with Dresden also because following the partnership with the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany]-governed Hamburg, there is now incipient cooperation with a CDU [Christian Democratic Union]-governed state. However, he did not want to give the impression that the law is being laid down for the GDR; what is at stake is discussion on practical cooperation.

Professor Manfred von Ardenne called for an immediate improvement of the communication system between the GDR and FRG. The GDR government should quickly create relevant laws for the development of the cooperation between medium-sized firms. Urgently needed administrative reforms will favor the creation of a confederation of the two German states. This idea is not new; he had already been conducting relevant negotiations with the then-federal president in 1957 on behalf of Grotewohl and Ulbricht.

Several representatives from established parties in the city assembly called for an exchange of views on the practical implementation of democracy and a parliamentary system. Dr Andreas Mauksch, deputy chairman of the Council of Dresden Bezirk [Area], declared his willingness to prepare in the spring of 1990 a joint mayors conference for Dresden-Baden-Wuerttemberg. Other proposals aimed at an entrepreneurial conference involving small traders and medium-sized industry, the establishment of a cooperation exchange, as well as a technology park, sending prominent experts to a Dresden weekend university on the subject market economy and for training young GDR specialists in management skills.

The delegation of the Baden-Wuerttemberg state government, led by Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth, arrived on the same day for a 2-day visit to the GDR. During its visit, a meeting with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow is also planned.

Spaeth Meets Modrow

LD1012210689 Hamburg DPA in German 1927 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Dresden (DPA)—Baden-Wuerttemberg will be offering help to the Dresden Area [Bezirk] in the development of the infrastructure and of industry. Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth set out in his talks on Sunday with Dresden's Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer and Prime Minsiter Hans Modrow a number of specific offers, including help in the extension of the telephone system and the granting of starting-out credits to medium-size GDR entrepreneurs. Offices for technological-economic cooperation are to be set up in January in Dresden and later in Stuttgart.

Prime Minister Modrow said after a talk with Spaeth that Baden-Wuerttemberg can make a very constructive contribution in the development of regional relations. Spaeth argued for starting specific work now and for focusing on small and medium-sized companies. Spaeth has been in Dresden since Sunday with a 50-person delegation for 2 days of talks.

The offers from Baden-Wuerttemberg also include the establishment of a construction engineering park in the Dresden Area. Some 100 to 200 young trainees are also to be given the chance of attending a commercial college in Baden-Wuerttemberg. Over and above this, Baden-Wuerttemberg wants to stage seminars for leading personnel in GDR industry. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Talks Noted

LD1012212189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2018 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Lothar Spaeth, and GDR Premier Hans Modrow described their talk in Dresden today as extremely successful. The two politicians and Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer spoke to domestic and foreign journalists after their meeting.

The GDR premier noted that the exchange of views begun in Stuttgart in September has been continued very constructively. At the time, there had been discussion of the fact that the time might come for the extension of regional relations, and today this has happened. The agreement on this had been useful for his government with regard to further measures.

Lothar Spaeth expressed his satisfaction with being able to hold the talks at a time when the responsibility of the two German states is very great. There is considerable pressure from the expectation of regional relations with specific results, and also urgent pressure to act. Without any reservation, there can now be cooperation in various areas, including the infrastructure, the construction industry and the social sphere.

Wolfgang Berghofer reported on specific projects in the foreseeable future. In closed session, employers from small and medium-sized enterprises discussed their cooperation, he said. The exchange at local level included additional sister-city agreements. The mayors of smaller communes should also meet. In Dresden and Stuttgart there will be contact offices, where economic and business law experts can act as focal points for economic relations. There will also be talks between different political groups. A Dresden foundation should enable companies in Europe to join in the preservation of cultural and historical buildings. There are also plans for exchanges of experts, beginning with the Dresden town planning director.

Lothar Spaeth, who invited the participants in the round of talks to Stuttgart, referred to the fact that all parties of the Baden-Wuerttemberg parliament are involved in the meetings. It is now important for the national economies of the two German states to be swiftly incorporated in the international division of labor. Here, cooperation with the middle classes brings not the fear of capital forces but, rather, dynamism into the economy.

The relations at regional level now under way, Hans Modrow said, can be included in the treaty-based community he had proposed. He will reach agreement on this with the federal chancellor in the next few weeks.

The head of the FRG permanent mission in the GDR, Franz Bertele, also took part in the meeting in Dresden's Bellevue Hotel.

Modrow Meets Schleswig-Holstein Leader

LD0912175889 Hamburg DPA in German 1653 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—At the start of next year the GDR and Schleswig-Holstein plan to set up regional mediation bureaus in Kiel or Luebeck and Schwerin and to appoint a planning council with equal numbers from each side. This has been agreed by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein, Bjoern Engholm (Social Democratic Party), at a meeting in East Berlin today. [passage omitted]

Further on Meeting

LD1012001589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2001 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Talks conducted in the GDR capital today between GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Schleswig-Holstein Premier Bjoern Engholm have centered on possibilities for cooperation between the Schwerin area and the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein. [passage omitted]

Premier Modrow assessed the talk as constructive. Naturally, there must be talks with the federal government about what can be agreed between the two states. If in his government statement he spoke of a treaty-based community, then such consideration as those brought up by his interlocutor are also a genuine component for this.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany special congress was also discussed, Modrow said in answer to a question. The party congress fulfilled its tasks. It elected a party executive and a chairman. The party is therefore capable of operating. The congress will be continued at the end of the coming week and turn then to factual questions. That is the most important thing for the party and also for the situation in the country.

FRG's Von Weizsaecker on Current Developments

AU0812135789 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 4 Dec 89 p 1

[Report on "exclusive" interview with FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker by Klaus Baschleben in West Berlin on 2 December: "For Detente, Cooperation, and a Peaceful Future in Europe"]

[Excerpts] West Berlin—On Saturday [2 December] in West Berlin's Bellevue Palace, FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker and Hans-Otto Lecht, director of the Verlag der Nation publishing house, signed a contract on the publication of a book with the title "Bridges to Understanding," which contains speeches and interviews by the FRG head of state. After the signing of the contract, we had the opportunity to have the following interview with the FRG president. [passage omitted]

[Baschleben] This book will also contain your important speech of 8 May 1985. If you were to make this speech again today—in view of the increasing trends of neofascism in the FRG, which also do not stop at the borders of the GDR, a declared antifascist state—what would you add to this speech?

[Von Weizsaecker] The subject of the speech of 8 May 1985 was remembering the time of national socialism, the war, and its end and the consequences of this memory. After 8 May we had rather heated arguments in our country, not so much in the narrow political sphere but much more among our historians. This was what in our country was called the historians' quarrel, which dealt with the question of whether the events were unique events in history or whether one could find

parallels to them in the history of other peoples. I do not think that I would know anything else to say and that I would consider it right to say anything else. At that time I was addressing our own public. I did not expect the speech to meet with such a widespread response far beyond the borders of the German states. But it was an expression of the great importance of this topic. However, one makes such a speech only once in a lifetime.

[Baschleben] Mr president, at the moment the idea of a confederation is much talked about in both German states, with different interpretations on both sides. What is your view on this?

[Von Weizsaecker] I do not want to comment on this. We have heard public standpoints on this from both sides. I find it completely unavoidable that at a time at which the peoples themselves are taking the initiativ and also have an essential influence on the directi which things are to proceed, that at such a time c erations of this kind are made. But I think that, fi all, we have to deal with the practical and spe questions—how, for instance, trust in a new openn can be strengthened, and which wishes the GDR addresses in this respect to the FRG. I do not consider it appropriate to set up targets for each other concerning the final results already now.

[Baschleben] Mr president, thank you very much for this interview.

Hesse Minister President Visits Erfurt, Gera

AU0812115689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Experts' Proposals To Promote Cooperation"]

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Dr Walter Wallmann, Hesse minister president and chairman of the Hesse Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and Arthur Swatek, chairman of the Erfurt Bezirk Council, advocated cooperation between Hesse and Thuringia in the Thuringian bezirk [area] city on Saturday [2 December]. At a news conference after a talk in the Bezirk Council, Dr Wallmann mentioned the fields of short-distance passenger traffic, environmental protection, communications technology, and municipal construction. Experts are to present proposals in the next few days.

On Saturday, Dr Wallmann visited the bezirks of Gera and Erfurt, and held talks with representatives of democratic movements, the state, and the church in Jena, Weimar, and Eisenach. In Jena, the Hesse minister president said that the preservation of peace and the creation of freedom are the most important objectives that his party and the CDU in the GDR have in common.

Consistory member Dr Gottfried Mueller from Jena pointed out that the question of Germany's future is increasingly in the foreground. There are also nationalist undertones that are frightening, he stated. He advocated a confederation that interlocks the two German states, but leaves them their own, mutually respected identities.

FRG Official Proposes Cross-Border Ties

LD0512125589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Goettingen (ADN)—Neighboring districts at the German-German border should cooperate at the parliamentary and administrative levels. This was suggested by the parliamentary floor leader of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] Bundestag group, Torsten Wolfgramm, in a communication today to the chairman the GDR Council of Ministers, Hans Modrow. [passitted]

Views Kohl's Reunification Plan

2155589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND erman 30 Nov 89 p 2

[Guenther Anders report: "Tolerance Toward Others—Also Between States"]

[Text] The reaction to the speech held by Chancellor Kohl in the Bundestag on Tuesday [28 November] corresponds to the inconsistency of the 10-point program contained in it. The constructive elements, the readiness to develop cooperation, and the consent to Premier Modrow's offer on the development of a contractual community between the GDR and the FRG have met with a positive response by the two German states and their neighbors. However, the reaction to the objective of the program mentioned by Kohl is mixed: reunification, that is—though it was not put in this way—absorption of the socialist GDR by the capitalist FRG. Most Europeans are terrified of such a prospect. The memories of all the things that were done to the peoples of the continent by the pan-Germans are too lively. And, in view of the repeated calls for the borders of 1937, our Polish neighbors do not fear without reason that they will be the next victims.

With his program, Kohl touched on the basic question of whether the Europeans will succeed in building a common peaceful home or whether the continent will again become a center of tension and conflicts because of the establishment of an economically, politically, and militarily superior state in its center. In view of such fears, points seven to nine concerning the EC, the CSCE process, and disarmament cannot set one's mind at ease.

It is deplorable that the Bonn government is not able to reach a thoroughly optimistic view of the two German states's prospects in a European home. The rigid insistence on the outdated issue of reunification on which no consensus can be achieved obstructs the outlook on the great opportunities that are now opened up for a constructive policy.

Why should the existence of two German states, a socialist one and a capitalist neighbor, be a disadvantage or even a stain if the point is reuniting the divided Europe in safe peace and close cooperation in all questions? On the contrary, this can be turned into a great advantage. By extending their cooperation, by developing new forms of good-neighborly coexistence, by also solving complicated questions in the relations between two states of different social orders, the GDR and the FRG can obtain experience that will be useful for all—good experience, which serves the people and is completely different from Europe's experience with the Germans in the first half of the century. What is required is tolerance, not only between people, but also between states: accepting other people as other people. Only this will open all doors to reasonable coexistence.

Health Cooperation With FRG Reported

LD0112213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Talks between the representatives of the GDR minister of health and social services and the FRG federal minister of youth, family affairs and health took place in Berlin on Thursday and Friday.

It emerges from a GDR ministry press statement, conveyed to ADN, that the FRG side submitted proposals to offer help as part of the health agreement between the GDR and FRG in areas such as the temporary deployment of specialist doctors and other medical experts, the allocation of specific medical equipment, medicaments, and materials. Negotiations on support measures for cross-frontier ambulance services and urgent medical specialist treatment were also conducted.

Subject to the federal government's agreement and the commensurate financial support by the FRG, these measures are to be made effective as quickly as possible in the interest of the health of the GDR citizens.

GDR-FRG Transport Agreement Signed

LD0112162689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1402 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Schwerin (ADN)—The Schwerin transport combine began the first cross-border long-distance transport with the Kiel-based enterprise Autokraft today. The agreement signed today in the area capital provides for buses from the two enterprises to operate on the Schwerin-Luebeck-Kiel and Schwerin-Hamburg routes in both directions in the future on every Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. [passage omitted]

NDPD Chairman Explains Idea of Confederation

AU0512105989 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 30 Nov 89 p 1

[Report by Bodo Rehboldt and Lutz Teske: "If We Say National, We Mean German"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—Yesterday [29 November] at a news conference given by the Secretariat of the Main Committee at the Berlin international press center, which was attended by numerous journalists, the chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] called for socialism that is oriented toward the principles of humanity, freedom, the rule of law, and humanistic ideals, and for efficient party pluralism. Over 50 representatives of domestic and foreign electronic and print media participated.

Guenter Hartmann reported on the convening of the 14th NDPD Congress in April of the coming year in Berlin, and explained the contents of the concept of confederation that has been introduced into the political vocabulary of the GDR by the NDPD. This has drawn a strong response on both sides of our border, the politician stressed. He referred to the recent 10-point plan of FRG Chancellor Kohl.

In this connection, Guenter Hartmann rejected all unrealistic and dangerous speculation about reunification in the form of incorporating the GDR into the FRG. At the same time, the NDPD supports the readiness of Modrow's government to comprehensively expand cooperation with the FRG and to raise it to a new level, thus creating an example of cooperative coexistence, but it also goes beyond that. His party supports the striving for a community of trust, a contractual community of the two German states. For us, national identification—and if we say national, we mean German—includes a special relationship between the GDR and the FRG, Hartmann stated. Even if one recognizes the differences, including political differences, between the two German states, there is no doubt that the common nationality is an efficient driving force for assuming joint responsibility for a secure European state of peace that is beneficial for all peoples in the world.

The concept of confederation has been put on the agenda by the NDPD in order to provide a long-term perspective for the future, Hartmann pointed out. Now it is important to do everything to stabilize the GDR as a socialist alternative in economic and political terms, a GDR that presents itself as a reliable partner for a confederation. The NDPD understands confederation as a linkage between two sovereign states that preserve their sovereignty as independent states on the basis of international law. [passage omitted]

Gerlach Meets FRG's Lambsdorff in Berlin

AU0212130289 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 27 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "LDPD-FDP Meeting"]

[Text] Berlin—In the GDR capital last night [26 November], a meeting took place between Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], and a delegation of the Free Democratic Party of Germany [FDP] led by FDP Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff. Among the FDP delegation were

FDP Bundestag floor leader Wolfgang Mischnick and FDP Federal Manager Rolf Berndt. Among the LDPD delegation were Deputy Party Chairman Hans-Dieter Raspe and National Executive Council Secretary Armin Behrendt, as well as the head of the International Affairs Department, Rudi Mueller.

Keller Says 'No State Interference in Culture'

LD0412174489 Hamburg DPA in German 1653 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin—Foreign and FRG publishing houses will have an opportunity in the future of taking a share of up to 49 percent in GDR publishers. Such forms of commerical cooperation will be allowed after previous discussion of the relevant publishing plans and only if the partner publisher's program is in accordance with the GDR Constitution.

Speaking to journalists on Monday, new GDR Culture Minister Dietmar Keller said that under his direction there will be a great number of new tasks and reforms in his ministry. Under the motto "No state interference in culture" and "No more centralized administrative decisions in the intellectual-cultural sphere," the ministry sees its main task in the future as being a "depoliticization and de-ideologization" of cultural life in the GDR. Private initiatives, free groups, and experiments will be promoted.

In the future, according to Keller, it will also be possible for cultural institutions in the GDR, like museums and orchestras, to elect their leaders themselves. GDR artists deprived of their citizenship or living in the West should be given the opportunity to return to the country without difficulties, and make contacts there.

LDPD Favors Unification Process With FRG

LD1312105289 Hamburg DPA in German 0941 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR Liberal Democratic Party [LDPD] wants to promote the process of state unification. The party organ DER MORGEN says on Wednesday that the LDPD is acting according to the logic that it would be in line with the overall European interest in a growing together of the continent through cooperation if both existing German states and their inhabitants worked as pacemakers and not as impediments.

Treaty partnership, confederative structures, and possible state unity within the external frontiers of 1989 make sense only if they benefit all Germans and do not harm neighbors. In this spirit, the LDPD favors this national process being not merely tolerated, but actively promoted. It wants to help ensure that a future Germany, with borders open wide to all neighbors—open for the entry and exit of people, ideas, and goods—becomes not a bogeyman, but a hope for Europe and the Germans.

These ideas are contained in guidelines that are to be discussed by the party National Executive in the near future.

Fischer Discusses Foreign Policy Changes

AU0212151989 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 29 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Fischer by BERLINER ZEITUNG staff member Christa Schaffmann; date and place not given—"The Radical Change Also Affects Foreign Policy"]

[Text] BERLINER ZEITUNG: I have the impression that, in the eyes of the public, foreign policy is the sphere in which very little discussion of the developments of the past years has taken place. Is this because there are very few things that could be criticized in this field, does it simply take a little longer to present a balance sheet, or is foreign policy a taboo subject for critical analyses?

Fischer: Of course foreign policy is not taboo. I think that it is open to the degree that is justifiable in the interest of the subject. The radical changes in the GDR involve all fields, and I say this very clearly: all fields, including foreign policy. In our ministry we are currently examining what we can maintain and what we have to change. Moreover, I hope that the People's Chamber will also discuss the question of foreign policy.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: Can one also apply to foreign policy the fact that in the past the decision-making process did not focus enough on scientific approaches and too much on subjectivity?

Fischer: To reject such an accusation without any examination would be the worst thing to do. Still, I must say that we have always closely cooperated with our International Relations Institute. Foreign policy must be based on science—otherwise it does not take things seriously. However, science cannot be decisive for political decisions.

Therefore, we also have contacts with the International Politics and Economics Institute and other scientific institutions, as well as the Institutes for Regional Sciences in Greifswald, Rostock, and Leipzig. Still, everything can and must be improved.

New Emphasis for our Work in the CSCE Process

BERLINER ZEITUNG: What are the focal points of your work for the near future?

Fischer: Foreign policy must create quiet, that is to say peaceful, conditions for interior developments, conditions that are as predictable as possible. I have to emphasize that a state's international authority is largely determined by its economic power and its sincere domestic policy. Hans Modrow said that our society's domestic peace, which means the peaceful and critical shaping of renewal, secures us credibility abroad and, as the foreign minister, I can only firmly confirm this. We

do not have to and we must not change the basis of our foreign policy. However, several focal points must be newly determined and the government declaration, apart from permanent fundamental tasks, also contains new priorities such as, for example, the future work in the CSCE process. Our state will be strengthened when what we state toward the outside is completely identical with what we implement at home. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. The government declaration also sets new priorities concerning all our relations with the FRG and West Berlin, under the ambitious demand that the community of responsibility in terms of security policy must be reinforced in all spheres, particularly in terms of the ecology and through agreements.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: How does the GDR envision the future European home?

Fischer: It must be a home in which all states, be they big or small, located in northern or southern Europe, must enjoy equal rights and find and fulfill their roles on the basis of good-neighborly relations. I think that this also includes tolerance and the will to attain creative cooperation between all countries and their citizens. This requires that efforts be made to achieve equal rights in practice.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: The opening of our borders for normal travel was a contribution to the construction of this home. How do you assess this decision?

Fischer: The fact that we opened our borders is proof of the initiated irreversible renewal in our republic. Quite frankly, it would have been better to take this step earlier. We would have been well-advised to introduce new legal travel regulations no later than following the conclusion of the CSCE process. This would have spared us certain severe and difficult problems. Quite a few of those people who were disappointed and embittered, and left our country during the past few weeks and months, would still be with us today.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: Do you think that the relationship with the USSR was harmed in the past and that it now requires complicated repair work?

Fischer: The wrong assessment of the revolutionary changes to socialism in the USSR that were initiated through perestroyka was bound to affect our relations. Through Egon Krenz's visit to Moscow and the agreement that was achieved there, things have now been straightened out again. Nothing needs to be repaired; we will start work and we rely on the level of our truly fraternal relations, which have developed in the course of time.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: During the past few years, the USSR has also rethought certain issues of foreign policy. Are there any experiences that might be useful for us?

Fischer: As in the past, we are always considering such things. There are no problems in this context. We have always been in contact and we have always been aware of the fact that the power of the GDR's foreign policy can only be strengthened in alliance with the USSR and in alliance with the socialist states. By the way, I am on very friendly terms with the USSR foreign minister.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: In the past, several ministries deplored the fact that they were unable to make certain decisions, and that these were made by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party machine. Now they are claiming certain powers to which they are entitled. Does this apply to your ministry as well?

Fischer: Foreign policy has always been made in our house. Yet it has always been connected with the leading men of the state, and thus it always had to be harmonized. What belongs to the head of state will be submitted to him in the future as well. The same applies to the prime minister. The foreign minister continues to be answerable to the government and the head of government, whereas the government is answerable to the People's Chamber. In the past, I paid great attention to responding to all voices from the People's Chamber's Foreign Policy Committee. There were events at which we gave a briefing on our policy, committee discussions, and talks with my deputies on specific questions. I hope that our work with the People's Chamber and its committees will be intensified.

No Prejudice Against Women in the Diplomatic Service

BERLINER ZEITUNG: How will the coalition character of the government be reflected in the Foreign Ministry? Is it not necessary to make certain changes?

Fischer: There may be changes. That is not a problem. Ferdinand Thun, our first chief of protocol, came from the National Democratic Party of Germany. Other members of our staff also came from friendly parties. I have firmly resolved to establish contacts with all parties in order to ask them what able members of their party would qualify for the foreign service or ought to be trained for it. What matters is authority and ability.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: For women things are still very difficult in the diplomatic service. Do foreign policy experts generally have prejudices against women, or does the foreign minister himself have such prejudices?

Fischer: If I were to answer the last part of your question affirmatively, I would not dare to return home tonight. In general, there are no such prejudices in the ministry. We have a female ambassador in Madagascar—Eleonore Schmidt. She is proof that a woman can earn respect in this field, which she will not find as a matter of course in certain countries. She has done a very good job. A woman has been working in my office for 10 years in the rank of envoy. The fact that, on the whole, there are very few women in the diplomatic service is not a question of will. It is much rather the same social problem that is responsible for women being underrepresented in other fields as well. I would be greatly interested in having more women working in the diplomatic service.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: If foreign policy is to become even more open and democratic in the future, an informed and critical public is required. Is the information that is available in this field sufficient?

Fischer: I can imagine that we might bring back the magazines that we used to have and that were suspended, or that we might have others. It would be useful, even though it is bound to remain a mere desire, unless we have the economic conditions for it. Moreover, the media ought to continue their efforts to abandon reporting the so-called news on court affairs.

Politics and Economy Support Each Other

BERLINER ZEITUNG: What is the relationship between foreign policy and foreign economy? Are foreign economic constraints an obstacle for foreign policy in the long run?

Fischer: I do not think so. As far as I remember, I have always had good relations with the foreign trade minister, because we both know that relations with other countries must be well coordinated. Sometimes there may have been a greater emphasis on politics, at other times on the economy. However, the one supports the other, and this is to remain so in the future as well. One problem of the everyday work is that one must constantly come up with new ideas to ensure the best possible results for our own country, because the conditions for trade and economic activities are changing on a daily basis. Thus, our two ministries must be flexible.

BERLINER ZEITUNG: In what way will the network of diplomatic relations and representations develop in the future, considering our economic problems, which must not be underestimated?

Fischer: We have embassies in 90 countries. For a long time we have thought that maybe it is not absolutely necessary to be directly represented in all these states. Quite a few things can be settled by accrediting one ambassador to two countries. These plans might now be implemented. On the other hand, a state with an international reputation must have international relations because, after all, these are a very important part of the climate of international politics. A state with a geopolitical situation like the GDR has, of course, particularly great obligations. Nevertheless, it is true of both foreign policy and the economy that more efficiency must be achieved with less expense.

This means that, if necessary, the network of diplomatic relations will even be extended. For example, we would like to have good relations with all states in the Middle East. This is a very sensitive region, which also includes Israel. A peaceful and just solution of the entire Middle East problem would make diplomatic relations easier, which would involve both the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the recognition of Israel's existence within recognized and safe borders. These are roughly the lines along which I think. Still, I would like to emphasize that relations always need two parties, otherwise one cannot speak of relations.

LDPD Issues 5 Principles for Future Action

LD1212221789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1916 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Five precepts for action in the implementation of the "principles of liberal-democratic policy today" were drafted by the political committee of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPD] Central Executive at its session today. They are to be submitted to the central executive for discussion on 19 December. The document states that the following contours are emerging:

First, the LDPD stands for freedom, equality, fraternity, and social justice. Everything that has so far borne the name socialism, including internationally, has failed to meet these demands. Second, the LDPD, as a liberal and democratic popular party, is based on the Constitution. That means that the description in Article 1—"The GDR is a socialist state of workers and peasants," prompted the LDPD to strive for political goals transcending this in the interests of all strata of the population. In the first instance, the party supports shaping social coexistence in a democratic and humanistic way.

Third, this requires an economic foundation that is oriented not to a plan but to the market. The LDPD works consistently for change aimed at this. Fourth, it acts in line with the logic that it is in accordance with the overriding European interest in drawing together the continent through cooperation for the two German states existing today and their inhabitants to act as pacesetters and not as a hindrance. A treaty-based partnership, confederative structures, and possible state unity in the external borders of 1989 will only have any sense if they benefit all Germans and do not harm any neighbor. Fifth, the LDPD supports a radical reform of military service in the heart of the continent. The lesson of history is that war must never again emanate from German soil but only impulses for peace must determine all action —for resolute, courageous steps for disarmament and the dissolution of the military blocs, so that Europe in the year 2000 can be without soldiers and free of weapons.

It is proposed to convene an extraordinary LDPD congress for February to decide on an election program, a new statute, and the party leadership composition.

DBD Chairman Calls for Utilization of Democracy

LD1212214389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Democratic Peasants Party [DBD] wants the opportunity for a democratic, humanist, and socialist alternative on German soil to be utilized. In this sense it will work together with all progressive forces in the GDR. This was stated by DBD

Chairman Dr Guenther Maleuda at an international news conference today following a 2-day session of the party executive. "We support independent statehood that is receptive to the building of a European home," said the party chairman. His party wants to help lead the country out of the crisis. Referring to the talks at the roundtable, he said that the DBD welcomes its continuation and is, at the same time, against demarcation or limitation. In the future, the mass organizations represented in the People's Chamber, as well as groupings in the citizens' movement, will take part, too.

Maleuda underlined that the time for self-imposed restrictions and self-restraint by his party is over. It is opening itself up to all citizens in the country and in the city, irrespective of their ideology or religious views, and is increasingly adapted to the breadth of public life. The DBD believes it has a responsibility to say a warning word to the country's peasants in these serious times, said the party chairman: "Let us continue the great work of renewal with the dignity and common sense marking its beginning. It demands consistency, but does not flourish in chaos, anarchy, and violence."

A just society now needs, at the beginning of its path, common sense and moderation, above all, if its success and its continued existence is to be ensured. "For peasants, the idea of strikes and endangering supplies is unthinkable." The farmer knows that if he stops producing, the people will be in great need. But he too needs the production of all other producers. "No one must disrupt this vitally important cycle. The weal and woes of the social changes that began with so much hope in our country depend on his functioning."

During the news conference, the membership of the party was put at nearly 125,000. There has been no mass exodus from the party. The DRD also wants to gain access to sections of the population in urban areas through stronger orientation toward ecological tasks. [pasage omitted]

New Forum Brings Charges Against Krenz

LD1212212789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—In Leipzig at the weekend, New Forum delegates from 11 areas [bezirke] of the GDR came out against a general strike in the current situation. Instead, it was necessary to make full use of the possibilities given by the roundtable, says a resolution adopted at the meeting that was passed to ADN today. Only if it fails will the question of a political general strike return.

The demands made to the roundtable included the dissolution of the Combat Groups, the Office for National Security, the Society for Sport and Technology, and the internal Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] communications network for the benefit of the economy, the disclosure of the finances of all parties, organizations, and associations, and the transfer to the economy of all enterprises at home and abroad that belong to parties and organizations.

The delegates support elections in two stages: local elections as soon as possible with the aim of giving the greatest possible autonomy and self-administration to the localities, and then People's Chamber elections in order to achieve further legal rulings on a legitimized basis. For a transitional period, citizens' councils and roundtables should be formed and granted recognition accordingly.

In connection with the destruction of files and evidence in all branches of the former Ministry of State Security, the land delegate conference is bringing a "charge of suspicion of collusion through the destruction of legally relevant files against Egon Krenz, Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz, and person or persons unknown," the resolution states. An independent body providing judicial assistance should be set up to compensate those who suffered at the hands of the ministry.

The delegates noted with concern the formation of neo-fascist forces. This danger must be countered by all political means. The conference approved the forming of enterprise councils as power and control organs of the work forces that will have an influence on the economic and financial decisions made by the enterprises.

Interior Ministry Political Organ Stops Work

LD1212185689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The political organ of the Interior Ministry and of the subordinate branches has stopped its work. GDR Interior Miniser Lothar Ahrendet gave a briefing on this at a forum in Berlin this evening. There are further considerations for structural changes. Ahrendt spoke in favor of a close security partnership between the People's Police and citizens' committees and all other social forces. Only in such a way can the level-headedness, order, and security necessary for the turnabout that has been embarked upon be ensured. [passage omitted]

Berghofer Outlines SED Congress Agenda

LD1212184589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpts] You could say of this program that one news conference follows hot on the heels of another. A few moments ago, one began at the international press center with Gregor Gysi and Wolfgan Berghofer. Here is an initial excerpt.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter] Press Trust of India: Dr Gysi, the party congress is to continue this weekend. Could you tell us more

about the main priorities? And lately, we have heard much talk about reunification, etc: What is your view of this?

[Gysi] Well, on the first point you [presumably addressing Berghofer] are the best one to give an answer as you did about the agenda.

[Berghofer] We will start on Saturday at 0900 at the publicized venue [Dynamo Berlin sports stadium]. First a report will be given that deals with the historic roots of the crisis in which our party finds itself. We will provide further results of our investigations, for example, into misuse of power and corruption, as far as this is possible by then.

This will be followed by an initial series of discussions. On Saturday afternoon we will deal mainly with the strategy and programmatic details and the new party statute. The result and content of the discussion will shape the debate in the evening about a new name. [inaudible interjection and laughter] Yes, no doubt another all-night session—we're still in good (?shape) and, anyway, democracy is fun, it's not just a burden.

We will continue the debate on Sunday at 0900, when our chairman will deliver a report on current tasks of our party, let's say with a view to 6 May, that is, the People's Chamber elections. After that there will be more debates and the whole thing will conclude with the adoption of the necessary resolutions, above all, on the program propositions and the statute. [end recording]

Gysi Comments on Important Party Questions

LD1212212489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1950 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The preservation of the GDR's independence and sovereignty is one of the most important questions of the present. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is committed to this. This was underlined today by SED Chairman Dr Gregor Gysi at an international news conference in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The SED intends to take a third path, "a path beyond the interests of transnational concerns, and beyond Stalinist socialism—democratic socialism." This path can only be pursued if the GDR preserves its independence, Gysi explained. The SED is interested in expanding cooperation with the FRG and Berlin (West). It is a matter of the interests of the people in both German states. Within the framework of the treaty-based community proposed by the GDR, economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation could be expanded and meetings between people promoted.

The question of whether the danger of a split in the party still exists was denied by Gysi. The first part of the extraordinary party congress succeeded in preventing both the dissolution and a split in the party. But a new program also brings the danger that there will be several people who cannot support this program. It is possible that they will leave the party. But that is not a split, but a normal process within the framework of a real, new beginning. On the other hand, members of the party who recently left will come back again.

Asked about the lessons of perestroyka, Gysi regretted that the SED did not introduce this process in 1985. The revolutionary passion of restructuring, the radicalism of democratization and openness—these are all interesting things for the party, which should also be secured in the GDR.

Of course the SED is concerned about instances of right-wing radicalism in the GDR, the party chairman said in response to a question. He is happy that nothing is as yet, to his knowledge, being organized in this area. It will be one of the most important tasks of the round-table to come to an understanding on a joint defense against such forces.

NDPD Secretariat on Corruption, Abuses

AU0812103789 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 5 Dec 89 p 1

[Statement issued by the Secretariat of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) Main Executive Committee—date not given]

[Text] In full agreement with the members of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], we feel shock and disgust about the cases of corruption, depravity, and crimes against the people committed by the former leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which were finally cited explicitly at the most recent session of the People's Chamber. We expressly pay tribute to the attitude of the NDPD group in the People's Chamber, whose urging essentially contributed to revealing these scandalous circumstances. We consider the forced resignation of the Politburo and the SED Central Committee as a necessary step.

The Presidium, which was elected at the sixth session of the NDPD Main Executive Committee, and its Secretariat do not have and accept any co-responsibility for these serious crimes and their concealment.

We are in favor of the profound democratic and moral renewal of our country. Nothing will dissuade us from this. This means, finally, equal opportunities for all parties and democratic movements in all areas of our country.

We will relentlessly fulfill the assignment given by the sixth session of the Main Executive Committee on 28 November 1989 to clear up the suspicions concerning the financial activities of former Chairman Heinrich Homann—he has already lost his offices in the State Council, in the People's Chamber, and in the Presidium of the Main Executive Committee. A committee is dealing with the investigation. The result will be published immediately. Independent of this, the findings

made so far concerning the existence of a personal foreign currency account are sufficient to institute party procedures. Guenter Trysna, head of the Department for Financial Administration and Party Enterprises at the Secretariat of the Main Executive Committee, has been suspended from his work in order to facilitate an unhindered investigation.

The shock among our people is great. Therefore, in particular, we express our respect to all those who are doing their duty for the people in this situation.

Former NDPD Chairman Rejects Accusations

LD1212164189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1451 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The former chairman of the National Democratic party of Germany [NDPD], Professor Dr Heinrich Homann, has firmly rejected accusations of high-handed use of party resources and of abuse of office for personal advantage. This emerges from a statement by Homann on the accusations made against him, which ADN received today. He has instructed lawyer Dr Friedrich Wolf to look after his rights.

In Homann's statement, it says: "The members of the main committee must account for the fact that I was expelled from the NDPD without being given a hearing".

Gysi Makes Address to SED Congress

LD1112175389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 pp 3-4

[Speech by Gregor Gysi, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) chairman, at the SED congress in East Berlin on 8 December: "If We All Struggle for the New Party, It Will Remain Strong!]

[Text] Dear comrades! The working committee has entrusted me with the task of speaking to you. I request your understanding that I am not able to give you a comprehensive report here. When have I been able to write one? All of us in the working committee accepted a responsibility last Sunday that has made claims on us up to the limit of what is mentally and physically possible. I have never liked the former, usual "all-inclusive reports" [warenhausreferate] in any case, and therefore request that you understand that I cannot speak either about all questions on the agenda or about all areas. I simply must concentrate on certain points.

The situation in the country and in the party demanded this extraordinary party congress and its bringing forward. The party must have a leader again in order to counteract signs of dissolution and to gain the ability to act. The election of a leadership is today the most important thing. But it is not possible without self-depiction and self-determination.

However, one thing is quite clear from the positional paper worked out by the committee, which was sent to you and published in the papers—and which of course is not complete and mature: We need a complete break with the failed Stalinist—that means administrative-centralist—socialism in our country.

This administrative-centralist socialism has led to political, economic, and industrial crisis, to corruption, and to abuse of office. It has shown itself in our country and in other socialist countries to be incapable of making an effective contribution toward solving mankind's problems.

The people of GDR, all its parties, political, and social movements, are today facing a decisive situation: Which path should the GDR take?

The economic and political crisis has severely restricted the possibilities to determine this path ourselves. It is of decisive significance for the lives of the citizens and the future generations that historic direction is chosen. During the coming weeks and months, the tracks will be laid that will fundamentally change the conditions of life for each individual. It is not only a few GDR citizens who are orienting themselves—now on the basis of their own experiences as well—to the society of the Federal Republic of Germany.

By simply adopting the FRG's structures, is it possible to solve our problems here? The West European societies, in particular the FRG, are not a purely capitalist system in the sense of a school example from which one can learn nothing. We are able to value the modern achievements of this society, which the working people of the FRG have struggled to build for themselves. We respect the free forms of economic, political, and cultural competition that attempt to face up to the development of monopoly positions in the economy, politics, and culture. In particular, we can learn from the practice of workers' participation at the enterprise and branch level; from the three-fold division of powers between legislature, executive, and judiciary; from the growing role of the media and the new social and cultural movements; from the high standard of development in science and technology; from the higher value of communal participation; and from the federative and public benefit character of many types of cultural promotion.

But at the same time we must not overlook how limited these achievements are, a fact pointed out by every consistent democrat in these countries. The achievements mentioned are limited by the strategic power interests of capitalist monopolies, especially supranational concerns, and international military-industrial complexes. The sovereignty of the FRG vis-a-vis the United States and NATO is also limited in this way.

The expanding capitalist world market may initially appear attractive to those who are used to a planned bureaucratic shortage economy. But in its monopolistic shape, it aggravates the existing global problems of

environmental protection, of securing of peace, and of disparities in social-economic development. In fact, it leads to mass unemployment, to fear about how to make a living, to a socially unjust two-thirds society—even in the rich countries—but to even more misery in the poor countries.

We must not fritter away the GDR people's democratic awakening and their right to self-determination. However, we would be doing this if we were to allow the old rule of politbureaucrats to be followed by the rule of capitalist magnates.

The crisis of administrative-centralist socialism in our country can only be solved by the GDR taking a third path beyond Stalinist socialism and domination by supranational monopolies. In this, we feel especially committed to the social interests of our people, to solidarity based on individual freedoms and basic rights, to equal conditions for individual self-realization, and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of mankind. These are our basic values. With them, we should enter a new path of the GDR's development, with a new program and a new statute. We will strive with all our might for free competition and for the highest contribution to the development of social prosperity. Just recognition of individual and collective achievements must be accounted for.

Our struggle will be directed against all monopolistic power structures, in the economy, in politics, and in intellectual life. This third socialist path that we aim for is marked by radical democracy and state legality, humanism, social justice, environmental protection, implementation of real equal rights, and equality for women.

This orientation toward a third path reveals the democratic and humanist sources and the contents of our tradition in the German and international labor movement, and incorporates them.

These especially include social democratic, socialist, non-Stalinist communist, antifascist, and pacifist traditions. It is not a matter of changing the wallpaper. We want a new party. A party that sets an example for a modern concept of a party in a modern society.

The party should gain its unity from the competing ideas of all its members, platforms, and inner party trends. It understands unity not as internal unanimity but as receptiveness to all democratic movements and to all people. The mandate of unity should not concentrate just on ethnical integrity and the exclusion of those ideas that are incompatible with the mentioned basic values. This modern socialist party sees the continuing work on its agenda and its strategic ideas as the main content of its political activity, instead of the implementation of general dictates regulated from above. It should form grass-roots democratic structures that ensure that it is a party of its members, so, that the party policy will flow from its democratically elected leaders and not from the party apparatus.

The party apparatus must have predominantly organizational tasks for the preparation and enforcement of political demands. The apparatus can therefore be considerably reduced—but should be regulated—and the members should be assigned clear tasks. I return to this point in attempting to report on the findings by the commission of inquiry. The great majority of these members really had no priviledges and always worked honestly and decently. We cannot simply lump everyone together. There are stark differences. I will come back to this.

But the structures were wrong; they must be changed. The members are not responsible for this; or at least only to the extent that we are all responsible. Grass-roots democracy calls for a statute that demands creative and critical activities from every comrade, that organizes inner-party discussion effectively, and that is not the basis of party disciplining.

This modern socialist party is the practical home of committed, democratic socialists, not a class party or a mass party. This modern socialist party recognizes the traditions of the German and international workers movement, the political representation of the social interests of the workers. It also recognizes the progressive tradition of the communist, social democratic, socialist, and antifascist movement, and it recognizes Marxist and Leninist traditions. It takes all these traditions on board critically, but consistently adapts to the changed problematical situations of the present and the future.

There is no line that would have been faultless in its development, and there is also none of these magnificent figures mentioned in the policy paper, who were correct on every matter, or who had indicated a solution for today. And there can be no such line or figure.

This modern socialist party is building practical strategies on the basis of theoretical conceptions, but it is foregoing any limitation whatsoever on theoretical sources, on certain directions, and on any scientific assessment. That means it allows itself to be led by scientific insights; it no longer allows science to confirm that which, as is known, has led precisely in social science to large losses that cannot be made good again in a short time.

It was not social science that prepared plenums, but rather the plenums decided what the social scientists then had to explain—and that simply does not work!

Dear comrades!

I should now like to say something about the results of the commission of investigation. I have certain problems here, I must admit. First of all we have only had 5 days so far. Thus, I ask you not to expect anything that does not take this period into account. Then again, such work is quite new to me and quite unknown; I am actually a

defender, not an investigator, or something like that. I did not know this building and its structures. Even now I have difficulties in finding any given room. During this period we have had thousands of leads from the public. Someone on "Aktuelle Kamera" then had the bright idea of giving out the number 2020. I do not know whose idea it was; that made the telephone system in the Central Committee break down. Still, it speaks for a certain measure of trust that the investigating commission has received.

I have called lawyers, notaries, criminologists of the Humboldt University to be members, as far as one can say; on which basis, I do not really know either. I have not announced their names, while all other working groups have been announced. I believe I do not have to explain that further—you will understand it. I will also not do so in the future. It is enough if one person is known.

The next difficulty was that many leads proved themselves, of course, to be simply, completely unfounded. But one doesn't know that beforehand. It takes a terrific amount of time to follow up such a lead. And then this investigating commission also had no authority. From whom in any case? This party had no leadership at the time of the commission's origins. By the way, for this reason as well, we need a leadership, because it must decide what this investigating commission may do and what it may not do. First of all, we undertook important security measures; and if they had been undertaken everywhere in this manner, then we would have saved ourselves a lot elsewhere perhaps.

Nothing that does not need to leave and to which I did not agree has left this building since Sunday evening.

Many have offered to work in this investigative commission. I must really say that. One could have extended it considerably. But I was faced with a great difficulty. I still had to—I want to say it openly—ensure that no one was infiltrated into it. I'll say it like this. So I could only take someone whom I know, whom I know so well that he can assure me, that, well and so on. There was no other possibility. The numbers are therefore limited as before. We have made great efforts, and the picture facing us was on the one hand terrifying, more terrifying than we thought, and on the other hand, however, more reassuring, so that there is really no reason for self-torment. I must say that here clearly.

The shocking thing was the extent of the unjustified privileges of the former party leadership and the catastrophic state of accounting in certain sectors of this building and the complete absence of necessary controls in certain fields.

Without any of us noticing, the powers of the Central Auditing Commission were gradually eroded and, finally, further restricted at the Ninth Party Congress. None of us really noticed it at all. There were always instances of sentences being changed around, and then this suddenly meant that spending could no longer be checked by the Central Auditing Commission, but only the revenue, that is of course a strange procedure, and one that led to difficulties for these comrades, too.

Nevertheless, I must say that I cannot spare them the charge that they knew what failings there were, where the weaknesses of authority lay, and so I believe they should have turned to us. However, it's easier to say this afterward than to do it at the time. I gladly admit this. But whoever is elected to high office also bears a great responsibility.

Another difficulty was in the interweaving of the state and party spheres, which in my view must be dissolved and legally cleared up, otherwise we cannot establish order in this sphere.

An especially negative effect was caused by the almost unlimited powers of Erich Honecker, and, above all, also of the former head of the finance department, who had almost total authority as sole signatory over accounts and many other sectors. In addition, he had been given an instruction to destroy receipts in certain sectors immediately. At least this is what he claims; I must put it that way because the person whose authority he cites cannot be questioned.

So I will not give any figures because, first, I do not know them. I was not, after all, the financial auditor. Of course, in the final accounting that will be the task of the Central Auditing Commission. I am not prepared as it were to take on this accounting report here, nor do I see why I should.

As we are going to get these reports at the extraordinary party congress—because I assume that we will decide to continue this and will not be letting anyone get away with this—I will not say anything more about this now. But one thing I will say is that there are, of course, historically justified achievements by our party, achievements of solidarity, that we ourselves received between 1933 and 1945, and about which I will say nothing because of the dangers involved for parties in other countries, some very far distant. I will simply ask for understanding on this. Or it will become impossible. And I would not consider this as unfair. Things are not going well for us just now, but still better than for other parties in this world.

Of course, we first of all devoted our attention to the violation of the party statute. But there is still the Central Party Control Commission. It did not resign, nor was it removed from office, although the chairman proposed this to the Central Committee at its latest session, so that there were two different tracks. I have asked the comrades to examine the issues of rehabilitation, etc. The work must be continued, and the investigating commission, of course, cannot initiate or even carry out any party procedures—that is quite impossible.

I have noted the exclusion of leading comrades from the party by the Central Committee. In my view, this is not

in conformity with the statute. I do not wish to defend them, but I am always in favor of state legality; some of them did not even have the right to speak for themselves. I think that is not possible either. I have the feeling that some were excluding comrades from the party so that they would not have to answer, because then they would no longer be members of the party.

I have read the official protocol on this. There is also a tape recording. I have not heard it—I didn't want to—and didn't know either when I would have been able to listen to it. It only said: Comrades so-and-so are being expelled because of demands from the grass roots. And I must say: Is it possible for a comrade to be expelled because of demands from the grass roots? He has either violated the statutes, and that justifies this measure, or not. There can be no other reason. I have to state this so bluntly.

There were complaints. I cannot say at this time whether they are justified. I am really not able to examine this at present. We need a leadership there as well, so that things proceed in an orderly way. These chaotic conditions must stop.

However, I am certain about one thing: All the comrades in the Politburo—who belonged to the Politburo up to 17 October 1989—have in my view violated duties—I say this quite clearly—including those duties laid down in the party statute. I would like in this regard to quote from the statutes in order to make clear what I mean:

"The party member is obliged to fearlessly discover failings in work and to commit himself to their elimination; to stand against subjectivity, disregard of the collective, egoism, and painting things in rosy colors; and against the inclination to become intoxicated with successes;" I knew some with such inclinations, and I do not know who stood against it—if so, then we have not noticed it.

To fight against every attempt to suppress criticism, to replace it with prettification and gushing praise, and to promote criticism and self-criticism from below in every way.

I think, that in actual fact, all Politburo members violated these duties. This also emerges from their statements in which they described how the first man in the party ruled, and that the principle of collective government was violated. They all say: I conceded that I did not do enough against it.

That can be assessed very differently for each individual. There are of course other violations, but that, I think, applies in principle to all.

We also had to face the fact that there were offenses against the law. But we are not the public prosecutor; as soon as we establish something, we secure the relevant evidence and data, and hand it over to the responsible state organs, because we desire the division of party and state. That has, after all, led to two former department heads being imprisoned or temporarily detained, and to a charge with examination proceedings running against one.

The position in the case of the Politburo members is known. I say here quite clearly; I will commit myself, and I cannot lose my role as lawyer: Always for adherance to the code of criminal procedure in this country, for everyone; otherwise, justice and the state based on a rule of law cannot be built.

That means, for example, that I support an arrest warrant being issued when the preconditions for it exist, but not an illegal house arrest that is not regulated in any way.

One of course gets into difficulties as well with humanist points of view—I must say that simply—in the case of people well into their 70s, and those over 80 as well. This is connected with the fact that we elected people of this age into the leading party posts. I ask that you do not misunderstand that. We quite urgently need the advice of old comrades, but we cannot, of course, have a Politburo that has an average age like the last one; I meant the last one before 17 October, I have not made other calculations.

I want to add something to the comments on priviledges, or, let us say, the system. I must say that the members behaved in differing ways in this matter. I must stress this. It is not fair to lump them all together where this is concerned. There were always some who, let us say, took what was normal, what everyone took, and never went beyond this. There were clearly some, too, who always went far beyond this. The whole thing was, of course, a kind of addiction. I have tried to trace this back. It began in a small way, one might say, and grew ever greater. This was related to a definite theory.

First of all it was a question of security matters. For this reason Wandlitz came into being; in my view, one of the worst and most mistaken decisions in the history of this party. This decision led to the isolation of the party leadership from life. And above all, even if perhaps that may actually have been necessary in 1956—I am not in a position to judge that—this decision should have been swiftly rescinded after 1961. From that, clearly, a completely independent lifestyle grew up. I intend to look into this closely and thoroughly, but at present I simply don't have the authority to do so. However, the information already revealed is sufficient for me to say what I have.

I don't want to say anything more on the supplies, but the way in which goods were sold there—exclusively from foreign countries of the West, really exclusively, except for a few products, some of which were not even available in the Intershops but go far beyond their scope—as a matter of course, which implied an isolation from real life. And, of course, one gets accustomed to it. I also realize that one does not put the same question every day.

But now I come to the differences. There are some people, for example, of whom one must say: The family members did not, on the whole, ever exploit that. Then there are some cases where, of course, the children and the spouses, which is evident, but later also the grown-up children and, in the meantime, also the grandchildren were included. I wonder: If there is a guest house that is not open to all party members, but only to the leadership, that is already something to be challenged, how can the children spend their holiday there alone, enjoying the extremely favorable material conditions, without the actual members? I do not consider this to be justified. We did not elect them, after all.

It is another question, of course, if parents take their children along with them. That's clear; I don't want to argue about things that are obvious.

Further points that we could take note of would be, for example, the use of government aircraft for Politburo members' private vacations. We have been able to ascertain that it was quite usual to use these aircraft for holidays abroad with the resulting high costs. We have been able to ascertain that—I want to put it this way—there was an extent of fawning in this respect that is hard to imagine.

This was also related to responsibilities; for example, the fact that the Ministry for State Security was responsible for the whole area and had the duty of shaping the living conditions as pleasantly as possible, in order that people were free for political work. That extended further and further into the situation as we know it today.

I would like to say something else on this: It is also related to the false structures, for autocratic rule of one party becomes autocratic rule of a leadership, and autocratic rule of a leadership leads inevitably at some point to autocratic rule of the first man of this leadeship and of his advisers. If these are the wrong ones, then this has a corresponding effect.

I can summarize what we are still establishing, what it is a matter of, and what must still be checked as follows: It is a matter of the use of finances; it is a matter of the purchase, the financing, the use, and the distribution of land that is owned, or is in the legal possession, or in the use of the parties; it is a matter of selling official vehicles; it is a matter of carrying out repairs to private vehicles and construction services; it is a matter of the use of means, premiums, and other things tied to objectives; it is a matter of the use of other party property; and it is a matter of the administration and use of finances in toto.

I am not saying that now with more certainty because if I said it in this way, I would make the investigation considerably more difficult, and that must proceed. It is also a matter of such questions that the party, let us say, constructs a house at great expense and then a high functionary moves in there for 100 marks rent a month. All of this happened. It hasn't all been finally collated yet. I wanted to leave it at that in this report; however, I did want to point out the following in order to prevent rumors: There was also isolation in the Central Committee, namely the isolation of the leadership from all other employees. And there were also privileges for the Central Committee department heads that were used by them in very different ways.

Finally, I would like to point out that there were no special privileges whatsoever for the overwhelming majority of employees working in this Central Committee building. The shops are completely normal. Nothing special was sold there. They also received quite normal wages. They simply did honest work. I must stress that here very clearly.

All of this is a little confused. Comrades, I must explain this to you also: I only put it all together today, and every statement has to be checked to see if it can be made, or whether it will it endanger the rest of the investigation. I am in favor of clearing everything up with the greatest precision. Everyone who has to be brought to book must be remorselessly held to account. All cases of abuse of power and corruption must be cleared up without—I must stress this again—us going into a self-flagellation process and without pursuing unjustified accusations.

Now I would like to talk about several, in our opinion, important questions that you have raised with us recently, and where we must somewhere form a standpoint.

First: What do we understand by the concept "socialism"? I am not, of course, in a position to give a mature scientific definition of the concept "socialism." But I am sure that it is a social order in which every form of political and economic sole power or monopoly power must be excluded so that economic effectiveness always remains linked to the ecological, social, and cultural interests of the people. The political and economic structures must be laid out in such a way that the interest in peace, disarmament, and humanism never remains unheeded.

Second: Do we or do we not need a new name? Should we dissolve and refound ourselves? Comrades, many differing positions were brought to us on this very issue. No one would be really against a new name, but many fear the accusation of fraudulent labeling or the attempt to escape the responsibility and history of our party. The other position is clear; part of a really fresh start is a new name, although one confesses the responsibility, guilt, and history of this party. I am of the opinion that we must resolve this question. Certainly we could live with both, but it is an important question. We received the following suggested names in particular: "Party for or of Democratic Socialism;" "German Socialist Party;" "Socialist People's Party." I have to say I could least get to like the last name quoted; it is too vague, I think.

In my opinion the dissolution of the party and its refounding would be a disaster for the party. [applause]

All those who were so committed to the renewal of their party throughout the country over the past few weeks would be disappointed. They want our party and not any old party. By what right should we rob all of us of a political home? [applause]

Apart from this, a political vacuum would arise in our country that no one could fill and that would exacerbate the crisis with unforeseeable consequences. Above and beyond this, I simply must point out the legal consequences. With a decision to dissolve, all employees of the apparatus would become unemployed and the social existence of the party's employees, its own workings and institutions would be considerably endangered. The party's possessions would in the first instance become ownerless. Afterward, several parties would certainly be formed that would then go into litigation about the legal successor. One simply has to know that before deciding this, I think.

In short, I understand very well how such an idea can arise. In weighing all the consequences, however, such a decision would be highly irresponsible. For this we should not consider dissolving and splitting the party.

Third, we were asked by many workers: What is our stand on the competition principle? Our stand quite briefly is: Economic conditions force us to consistently implement the competition principle. We must start this even today. However, our party, above all, must try to ensure that in this process social security and job security remain guaranteed and that the sick, inadequate, and weak do not go under within a community of solidarity.

The special conditions in agricultural production, which are so vitally important for all of us, should not at any time be left out of account.

Fourth, what is our view on the working class militia? Contrary to many claims made, they are not under the party, but under the minister of the interior. Hence we can only put forward a proposal. We recognize the contribution of the members, who for years have given up their free time for training to fulfill their duty of protecting the factories. However, if one thinks of the motives for their founding, it becomes clear that they are no longer in step with the times. Hence we favor their disbandment and ask the members to enter unarmed formations for the protection of our people and the democratic state, which is developing.

Fifth, what is our view on the Office of National Security? We must state that apart from justified and necessary duties of the Ministry of State Security, for example, in the investigation of war crimes and for defense against real state crimes, in the protection of the industry and other installations and in clearing up [crimes], there were also tasks undertaken that are indefensible and that explain how the present demonstrative rejection of this organization came about. These tasks included the struggle against ideological subversion. Since according to the prescribed criteria, this took place in every household via radio and television, this became a blanket activity that people felt was snooping. The great power of this organization also caused the correponding behavior on the part of some of its members. Furthermore, the ministry also took on the personal and material welfare of the party leadership, in which I believe there should have been no state involvement. However, one must consider the fact that these tasks were not the idea of the ministry's workers but a decision of the party leadership, which hence also bears the responsiblity for the situation that arose in this respect.

In the Ministry of State Security there were also cases of abuse of office and other illegalities—at least there is a suspicion of this—that are at present being investigated by the military State Prosecutor's Office. But we know that many comrades within this ministry always conscientiously and honestly fulfilled the tasks allotted to them, which they did not choose for themselves. Hence, we decisively rejected blanket condemnations, and above all, reprisals that are beginning to spread.

And I repeat once again: State legality is indivisible and must apply to all. We expect that the government will protect all citizens of this country from attacks, even comrades and also workers of the Office of State Security and their families. Lynch justice, reprisals and revenge are totally uncivilized and unworthy of any nation.

Because the office has been greatly discredited, it must, in my view, be dissolved, and it must be ensured that its members be given other jobs. With regard to the necessary duties of the office: They must be carried out in a new way. The responsibility lies with the government, and I will not, and cannot, give any recommendations in this regard.

Sixth: What is our view on strikes, or threatening strikes, and on strike law? In the present tense economic situation, strikes would be irresponsible. They are of little benefit and use, but they harm everyone and have a destabilizing effect.

Hence, we call upon all the workers in their very own interests to work responsibly, and, therefore, to maintain the material preconditions for the provision of the people and for democratic renewal. Democracy without material security is senseless and superfluous.

With the emergence of new property forms in our country, the working conditions will, however, change. The trade unions are becoming more self-confident from day to day, and it is, therefore, not out of the question to guarantee and regulate broad participation of the working people in the enterprises in a new enterprise constitution law in such a way that, if necessary, striking may be decided on as the final means of argument. But that has nothing to do with the here and now. That is a future if we get joint ventures here and everything possible, and the conditions also change. I would like to point this out but there must first of all be a law on this, about which all of us in this country must think thoroughly.

We should however, above all, make sure that we create conditions such that our workers in the factory feel and act as co-owners.

Seventh: I have already spoken about the German question, our prime minister did so as well. There were many questions on this as well. I would only like to add one thing: At a time, in which a European house is due to be built, in which it is a matter of the dismantling of the state in Europe, the idea of the creation of a new unified state is nonsensical. It is a matter of cooperation and encounters at all levels, but at the same time of the preservation of our independence as the German Democratic Republic.

Eighth: On the question of the basic organizations of our party in enterprises—a question raised very often with us, and it makes no sense to leave it out—we must somehow come to an understanding on this. Comrades! The new situation is setting us the task of conducting an election campaign that will be difficult, and that we have no knowledge of to date. For this reason we must, in my opinion, organize in the territories.

In my view, there are no longer the preconditions for party offices and full-time party officials in factories. However, the comrades in factories should discuss political and economic issues together, and represent the interests of the workers. This can take place in party aktivs or in other forms, which we must still think about. Neither we nor any other parties or movements can be forbidden to do our work in factories.

We will not allow ourselves to be separated from the working class, even if we are thinking about new structures!

Comrades! I would like to end here. I ask you to excuse the middle part because it was so provisional. But this was only because of the lack of time, and you know that I was in the roundtable talks yesterday, and today this—it is all a bit much.

Allow me in conclusion to say one thing. I think that we should emerge from this beginning of the party congress as a nascently renewed party. We should declare our commitment to our party. We should start with a new party without any signs of dissolution. We should not let ourselves become demoralized. Many of us have achieved a great deal in our lives and during our membership of the party—and not only for it, but also for those who do not belong to the party.

We would be glad if the comrades who have left our party in disappointment found their way back to us when we renew ourselves. Those who have left us because they believe that it is now not so opportune to be in this party, whereas before they were in the leading party, they can stay where they are.

Let us all together take up this new democratic socialist party, which has finally freed itself from Stalinism, once and for all, let us all struggle for this party. Then it will remain strong and will be able to fulfill its political responsibility, for the good of our people and for the good of our country, the German Democratic Republic. Thank you very much.

Democratic Awakening Leader Calls for Coalition

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[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In the opinion of Rainer Epplemann, a member of the executive of Democratic Awakening, a second capitalist German republic is not needed. "The second, which will be the poorer for the foreseeable future, only actually has a point if it is an alternative society to the FRG," the pastor states in an interview published in today's JUNGE WELT.

"First: state ownership must dominate (capital is lurking outside and is waiting to be let in. The bill would arrive in 5 years at the most). Second, we need a more narrowly set social and ecological framework." He does not dare use the word "socialist" in connection with the GDR's prospects. This word is tainted and is associated with 40 years of the GDR—"we should not then be surprised when many poke their tongue out at the mention of the concept of 'socialism.'"

The existing tensions in the country fill him with great concern. Eppelmann, who also acts as his party's press spokesman, believes that power lies on the streets. No one has it. "There is no democratic party or movement that has the legitimacy to take it. For this reason we need a 'Grand Coalition of internal political reason.'" This was not the roundtable. Epplemann calls this body, rather, the attempt to build the GDR of the future. "Breaking ground so that there can be a GDR with a future."

However, one should not forget the present for the future. The current government, which solely comprises forces from the old parties, also lacks citizens' confidence. "That has nothing to do with Hans Modrow's integrity," Rainer Epplemann stresses. In his opinion, there must be such a coalition within a very short period of time. "I do not give the GDR 6 months under present conditions, by them it will have bled to death."

After the failure of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] as the momentarily strongest force, the fall of the other "bloc parties" is still to come. There have not only been cases of corruption in the SED. "One may ask how many drivers Gerald Goetting had, or what the other parties did with their hard currency accounts. Much awaits us there. Gerlach was only the sharpest of them all. But no more than that. That does not predestine him to be the new man for a new GDR." [passage omitted]

Strikes, Work Stoppages in Prisons Noted

LD0812180189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1530 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—The inmates of Torgau Prison (Leipzig Area) today called on the prisoners of the penal institutions of Bautzen (Dresden Area) and Brandenburg (Potsdam Area) to maintain peace, order, and level-headedness. [passage omitted] The population should not gain the impression that violence and a worsening of the situation were intended, it is stressed.

In the Bautzen and Brandenburg penal institutions over the past few days, inmates have started hunger strikes and work stoppages to demand improved prison conditions and an amnesty.

After the amnesty was announced, the prisoners' actions continued because it was declared that the amnesty did not go far enough.

The general situation among the inmates of Bautzen's prison No. 1 quieted down today following the news that the amnesty declared by the State Council on Wednesday excludes persons who are under supsicion of corruption, misuse of office, and enrichment, and those who are still subject to investigations. [passage omitted]

The head of the penal institution, Lieutenant Colonel Dieter Sternberg, told ADN that the hunger strike was broken off. The prisoners' strike committee announced that work would resume on Monday.

Interior Minister Notes Department's Tasks

AU0212134389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Lothar Ahrendt by Rainer Funke and Uwe Stemmler; date and place not given: "Our Task—To Serve the Citizen"]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Comrade minister, you are wearing a smart suit. Do you no longer wear your general's uniform?

Ahrendt: I still do, but only on occasions that justify it. After all, I am not only responsible for the People's Police.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What are the spheres that fall under your responsibility?

Ahrendt: I will mention just a few, such as the security police department, the transport police department, the traffic police department, the criminal police, the riot police, the passport and registration departments, fire brigades, penal institutions, the main division of the interior, the land registry office, and the geodesic and cartography combine with a staff of many thousands, which, among other things, is also involved in space research,

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: So you are even responsible for space, so to speak?

Ahrendt: Yes, but I am based on earth—with both feet firmly on the ground. This is probably the most important quality of a minister in this country.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What were your ideas when you started work in your new capacity?

Ahrendt: I have always tried to seek contact with the citizens, because we are here for them and we must implement policies for them. Moreover, I regard it as our job to serve the people. If all my staffers, from police cadets to the general, always remain aware of this and act accordingly, then we will properly implement the order that we received from the people and the People's Chamber.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What are your plans?

Ahrendt: If society has to renew itself, the German People's Police and the entire ministry must, of course, also be completely renewed. There must be no taboos in this connection. We must change our working methods and structures. We must ask ourselves whether in the future it is useful for a minister of the interior to continue to head the German People's Police, as has been the case so far? I advocate that these two capacities be separated.

We will observe the administrative reform and we will, for example, shift the management of certain spheres to those areas where the work is done. It might also be useful to stop leading by the nose the heads of bezirk authorities who have been told exactly what they must and must not do.

On Structures, Forces and Means

Another issue is how we will handle the process of democratization. Section heads will be unable to comprehend life and dialogue any more, unless they know how to establish contacts with all citizens on the basis of their work, from the worker to the physician or priest. There can be differing ideologies or opinions, but most citizens will probably agree in one issue, namely that together we want to ensure that the GDR's people are able to live in peace, safety, and security. We will make progress if all the people make their contributions. Therefore, we will ask many questions.

Just like in society itself, renewal must start from the bottom in our ministry. Numerous proposals have already been made and we want to incorporate as many as possible. We must all change our way of thinking, get rid of old patterns of thought, so that we will ultimately fulfill our tasks with fewer forces and with higher efficiency.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Are there already specific ideas? After all, the tasks of our People's Police will certainly not diminish.

Ahrendt: Fewer forces and means—this affects not only the people's policemen who are doing their duty directly in the streets, that is, who are providing practical services for the citizens. I am thinking of the structures of the leaderships. The ministry will become smaller. If I shift responsibility from above to below, this must go hand in hand with changing the structures.

And, of course, we also have to shift our forces. The national border will remain a border. We will do our share to safeguard it. But, of course, no longer with the amount of force used in the past. Or: If the citizens have passports, the passport and registration sector of the People's Police does not need as many personnel as to date. But this will not and must not lead to members of the People's Police being afraid for their jobs. We will find a sensible solution for everyone.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Apropos excesses on 7 and 8 October...

Ahrendt: On principle: Whoever is obligated by the laws to protect the dignity, freedom, rights, and health of the citizens does not have any reason—regardless of the situation—to violate these laws himself. We categorically distance ourselves from excesses. But where are the reasons? Have we made mistakes in training, in conveying juridical knowledge, in judging the psychological pressure that developed? What do we, also as a ministry, have to do to rule such things out in the future? We are thinking about this.

A second remark on this topic: At every moment tens of thousands of people's policemen are loyally and honestly doing their duty. I am all the more concerned when, in some cases, they are refused gasoline at gas stations, members of their families are verbally abused, the girls and boys of our people's policemen are no longer accepted in kindergartens.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: In many readers' letters, which are also an instrument to measure the people's mood, citizens demand that our People's Police be closer to the citizens.

Ahrendt: I am in favor of making the entire work of the People's Police more open. I consider this an important precondition for eliminating prejudices and also justified anger. And we should engage in a new kind of public relations work. This starts with the behavior of every people's policeman in the street.

More Laws Instead of Decrees

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: There are many ideas about the expansion of the legal system. What is your view on this?

Ahrendt: I am in favor of fewer decrees and more laws, because—in contrast to decrees—they are not ordered by a minister but are legitimized by the People's Chamber. Therefore, we want a law on associations, a law on assembly, a law on the tasks and powers of the People's Police. The latter we already have, but it is time to revise it.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: The next topic: people who think differently.

Ahrendt: Over the past weeks all of us have probably undergone a process of learning. I think that everyone who supports socialism in our country—regardless of his ideology or denomination—is our partner. Order and security in the GDR are a basic consensus. It is the basis for the security partnership, which has proved beneficial to our citizens everywhere.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Your predecessor had been interior minister for 26 years. Do you think that such a long term of office is good?

Ahrendt: I am in favor of establishing mechanisms that guarantee an automatic renewal, not only in the party apparatus, but also in the state apparatus. One should not be in such an office for longer than two legislative periods.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Renewal is impossible without public order and security. What does the ministry think about this?

Ahrendt: Yes, this is a big topic in our ministry, because we proceed from the premise that any demonstration—be it authorized or not—always harbors the danger of escalation. If 200,000 peaceful demonstrators take to the streets, naturally there is the danger that there are 5 or 10 indiduals among them who are looking for confrontation and violence. And this causes me a lot of worry, because we want renewal to take place in a truly peaceful way.

Peace and Order Demanded With Justification

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: How do you assess the development of crime in the country?

Ahrendt: We are among the countries—this is not my assessment, but that of the United Nations—with the lowest crime rate. It is about 700 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants per year. But I still consider this figure too high.

On average, during the same period we have between 110 to 120 intentional murders. One could say that this is not much, but the suffering linked with this can only make us do even more to reduce crime in our country. Peace and order also means that the citizen finds his Trabant car with its four wheels in the morning and that his weekend house, which he closes in autumn for the winter, is still undamaged in spring. Therefore, every crime is one too many.

Economic crimes have to be paid attention to. What we need now is a strengthened national economy. And this starts with preventing crimes in enterprises and facilities.

Thus, one has to keep a clear mind and do everything so that the results of today are always considered a starting point for even better results tomorrow.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Apropos privileges. Will a clean sweep also be made in your sphere?

Ahrendt: We have 10 holiday homes beside the Baltic Sea. However, I have to say one thing: Our employees are not members of the Free German Trade Union Federation. If we took away the holiday homes from our comrades, this would be a mistake.

Often the People's Police hospital in Berlin is cited as a privilege. This enterprise health institution provides up to 50 percent of its services to civilians. Furthermore, medical checks are done there that we cannot give to other hospitals, such as medical checks of prisoners. We promote the fact that, to date, doctors and nurses in this hospital help in the civilian area and provide medical equipment to the citizens for diagnostics.

But we also want to re-examine other things, such as whether we really need all exercise grounds. And we are thinking about how to make our guest houses—of which we only have a few—accessible to the population.

Lawyer 'Rehabilitated' After Publishing Book

LD2911232889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2013 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Frankfurt (Oder) (ADN)—Lawyer Rolf Henrich has been rehabilitated. The College of Lawyers in the Frankfurt Area [Bezirk] today handed a statement to ADN that says that the Executive of the College of Lawyers in the area has revoked its 27 March decision to expel Henrich from the college for publishing his book "The Tutelary State: On the Failings of Actually Existing Socialism" in the FRG.

As publishing is "not a violation of the professional obligations of a lawyer, the lawyer Henrich has been rehabilitated," the statement says.

The book is also to appear in the GDR.

Permission To Print Literature Abolished

LD3011223489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—State permission to print literature has been abolished in the GDR. Publishers themselves are responsible for the content of publications by the publishing houses in accordance with the license and the statute of the publishing house. This emerges from a statement following a meeting today between directors and chief readers of GDR publishing house and employees of the Publishing Houses and Book Trade Main Administration of the Ministry of Culture in Berlin.

Culture Minister Dr Dietmar Keller used the opportunity to make an historical evaluation to the publishers of the phase of renewal that is beginning in the GDR and to explain the goals of democratic cultural policy. He made it clear that coordinated work by the main administration will still be necessary for a certain period before the restructuring of publishing and other areas occurrs.

Culture Minister Hears Artists' Appeal

LD0112051189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1849 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Cultural Minister Dr Dietmar Keller said, in an initial meeting with the nation's prominent artists in Berlin today, that a unique opportunity exists to achieve together a democratic socialism. The minister thanked the participants for their personal commitment over many years and particularly recently, to ensure that "important things are happening in the country of which many had only dreamed." [passage omitted]

The meeting participants were Gerhard Schoene, Hans-Eckardt Wenzel, Toni Krahl, Christoph Hein, Stefan Heym, Christa Wolf, Jochen Kowalski, Albert Hetterle, Dieter Mann, Manfred Butzmann, Helke Misselwitz, and Joachim Tschirner.

In view of the increasing slogan for "reunification" in demonstrations, the participants strongly underlined their desire for the continuing existence of the GDR. The appeal read out by Stefan Heym to GDR and foreign journalists in Berlin yesterday entitled "For Our Country"—a petition by well-known public figures from politics, science, art and culture, the economy, church circles and various democratic groupings designed to preserve the autonomy of the GDR as a socialist alternative to the FRG—is an expression of deep concern shared by the artists. In the present development of the GDR it is vitally necessary to submit tangible political concepts, which are accepted by the majority of the people. The artists regard it as one of their tasks to more strongly articulate what they favor, and not just what they are against. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the democratic groupings, Christa Wolf expressed a desire for an independent weekly newspaper for culture, politics, the economy, and philosophy entitled DIE WOCHE [THE WEEK]

Further Reportage on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

Defense Committee Discusses Issue

LD1212160389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The draft budget is a prominent point on the agenda of the National Assembly Defense Committee session, since it is expected that military expenditures will further decrease, moreover radically. Peter Marvanyi reports from parliament building.

[Marvanyi] According to Janos Seboek, deputy, the Defense Committee ought to propose that the National Assembly give the government a mandate to hold talks with the Soviet Government on the withdrawal of Soviet troops by 31 December 1990. This is what the deputy said, after a report by the state secretary for foreign affairs on the Vienna talks. According to Ferenc Somogyi, Janos Seboek is trying to force an open door, since the government has these issues on the agenda, and it is holding talks with the Soviets in this matter, although the state secretary was unable to give such a concrete date.

The other main topic of the committee session was the budget, or rather the budget pertaining to defense and internal [as heard] affairs. The session began with another agenda topic, a report on the weekend national summit and on the Vienna talks, but naturally, the budget was raised several times in both matters. In connection with the national summit, it was decided that the National Assembly ought to adopt the budget at the next parliamentary session. The deputies have not held a concrete debate on this. However, they were in agreement that Parliament should make it possible to call new elections.

Returning to Vienna: the state secretary for foreign affairs emphasized that the talks on conventional weapons had greatly facilitated the Hungarian Armed Forces reform announced on 1 December. However, the unilateral reduction cannot be explained by economic constraint alone, but irrespective of this, by the changes in the international situation and by the favorable disarmament prospects.

Karpati on Air Force Unit

LD1212222189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by Peter Marai in Budapest on 12 December—recorded]

[Text] [Marai] Minister of Defense Ferenc Karpati has announced that Soviet Air Force troops will be withdrawn from Debrecen. Where will they be withdrawn to—because there are other Soviet air bases in Hungary—i.e., what will be the fate of Debrecen Airport?

[Karpati] They will return to the Soviet Union. I cannot tell where; that depends on their decision. It is known that an interpellation was submitted in Parliament this year. The population was really preoccupied with it because the airport there is essentially part of the town; it is surrounded by the town. The population is still irritated despite limits or regulations we have introduced.

[Marai] Excuse me, but there are other Soviet air bases which have also expanded into the residential area; I have in mind the Tokol base...

[Karpati, interrupting] The Tokol affair has been solved. They have withdrawn from there. There are helicopters there now. In Debrecen, too, some kind of smaller helicopter unit will remain; apart from that, the airport will be handed over to Hungarian domestic air transport.

[Marai] Janos Sebok proposed at the committee session that Parliament should authorize the government to hold negotiations with the Soviet Union about complete Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary. Janos Sebok gave a concrete date too: 31 December 1991. Is this date conceivable?

[Karpati] I should not think that, at this stage, such a concrete date could be assigned by anyone, nor do I think that it would be successful if the Hungarian Parliament tied some kind of fixed date to the withdrawl. For this reason, I made this proposal, together with the Foreign Affairs Committee, because it has definite international implications in connection with the Vienna Armed Forces reduction negotiations. It is well known that one of the important subjects of these Vienna negotiations is that the number of foreign troops stationed in Europe—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—should be decreased significantly. This is a matter to be raised at negotiations. I hope that in this, too, a successful decision will be made soon. However, at this stage, viewpoints are rather far apart.

Further on Pozsgay Visit, Talks in Paris

Confers with Rocard, Barre

LD0412145489 Budapest MTI in English 1231 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, December 4 (MTI)—State Minister Imre Pozsgay met French Prime Minister Michel Rocard in Paris on Monday Morning.

Prior to that, he had conferred with former Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

Mr Pozsgay arrived in the French capital on Sunday evening to appear on Antenne 2 as the first East European guest on the Monday evening political programme "The Justice Hour", and only the second foreigner after former FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who was invited a couple of years ago. The programme will be broadcast live throughout Europe by TV5 Europe.

During his visit to Paris, the state minister will be meeting a number of other senior politicians.

More on Talks

LD0512033189 Budapest MTI in English 2038 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, December 4 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard held a one-hour discussion in Paris on Monday. Mr Pozsgay met Jean-Louis Bianco, general secretary of Elysee Palace and President Francois Mitterrand's personal representative. Laurent Fabius, president of the National Assembly, gave a lunch in the honour of the minister of state. Mr Pozsgay held discussions with Raymond Barre, the former prime minister.

In his talks with the French prime minister, Mr Pozsgay pointed out that although the two countries maintained traditionally good cultural, scientific and political relations, economic ties should be developed. Hungary expects first of all the influx of French working capital.

Mr Rocard said that the European Economic Community had to focus its efforts on the establishment of the single European market so he did not see any possibility for admitting new members in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, he held it possible and desirable for Hungary to sign special agreements with the community.

Mr Rocard underlined that the changes in Hungary were taking place continuously, and the reform forces of the former elite had an important part in their preparation.

Conveying the personal greetings of President Francois Mitterrand, Mr Bianco said that the president was unable to meet Mr Pozsgay because of his trip to Brussels. The general secretary of Elysee Palace added that the president was preparing for his trip to Budapest which will again express the French recognition of peaceful transition in Hungary.

The lunch Mr Fabius gave in honour of Mr Pozsgay was attended by Pierre Joxe, minister of the interior, senior personalities of hte various parties, and MP [Member of Parliament] Rene Drouin, president of the French-Hungarian Friendship Group of the National Assembly.

Mr Fabius said that he had initiated an international consultation in Paris on ways of assisting the East European countries. The president of the French National Assembly invited Mr Pozsgay to the event, which is expected to take place next February.

Mr Barre, the former prime minister, told Mr Pozsgay that France should give priority to bilateral ties with Hungary, as the country promises to be a stable market.

Monday evening Imre Pozsgay was the guest of 'The Hour of Truth' a monthly political forum of the French Antenne-2 TV station. The Hungarian minister of state was the first guest from Eastern Europe and, after Helmut Schmidt, the second foreigner.

Meets Dumas, Mauroy, D'Estaing

LD0612032689 Budapest MTI in English 2155 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, December 5 (MTI)—The current political and economic situation in Hungary, with a view to the consequences of the recent referendum, was the topic of the Tuesday discussions between Roland Dumas, French minister of state for foreign affairs and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state. The French politician briefed Mr Pozsgay on events of the NATO summit held in Brussels on Monday.

During his talks with Pierre Mauroy, general secretary of the French Socialist Party, Mr Pozsgay spoke of the intention of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) to expand its political and ideological ties with the French socialists. Mr Pozsgay also spoke of the expectation that France will increase the involvement of working capital in the process of transforming Hungary's economy, and that Hungary's position will be backed at the International Monetary Fund, in order to make the oganisation consider Hungarian political circumstances besides strict economic deliberations. HSP's wish to join the Socialist International was confirmed by Mr Pozsgay. The announcement was also made that representatives of the French Socialist Party will be visiting Hungary in the middle of December.

Mr Pozsgay's Tuesday schedule also included a meeting with former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, president of UDF [Union for French Democracy], leading personalities of the Hungarian Community in France, and representatives of the French press.

Leaves Paris for Budapest

LD0712025189 Budapest MTI in English 2144 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, December 6 (MTI)—'During our talks, both the government and the party leaders expressed great interest in the German question, and were pleased with the developments reached at the Malta conference of Gorbachev and Bush. They regard it as the beginning of a process,' said Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, on Antenne-2 French Television, on Wednesday having concluded his Paris talks.

'Party leaders, particularly, Jacques Chirac, spoke positively of the initiatives to have a new helsinki conference. Mr. Chirac feels that Gorbachev's initiative is well-considerd and serves the future of Europe. French politics intends to take a very close look at this proposal,' said Mr Pozsgay.

On Wednesday, Mr Pozsgay met with Jacques Chirac, mayor of Paris and president of the Rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR), and Alain Juppe, general secretary of RPR. He also held talks with Pierre-Christian Taittinger, first vice president of the Senate, and Pierre Guidoni, national secretary of the Socialist Party in charge of international affairs.

Imre Pozsgay left for Budapest on Wednesday night.

Horn Interviewed Before Brussels Visit

LD1212135789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Gyula Horn left for Brussels today. The main goal of his visit is to inform the leaders of the OECD—the organization of the 24 developed capitalist countries wishing to help Hungary—about Hungary. Gyoergyi Orban questioned the Hungarian foreign minister before his departure:

[Begin recording] [Horn] I would especially like to emphasize the gravity of our socioeconomic problems, and that amidst such circumstances, it is extremely difficult to bring about the acceptance and realization of the government's economic programs, and which international monetary and economic leaders require of us.

At the same time, I consider it very important that some weeks ago, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was here. At the joint news conference held with him, he said: The hour of truth will come on 13 December, when it will be revealed that the countries, which up to now have patted Hungary's shoulders with both hands, will reach into their pockets.

[Orban] You will have important meetings.

[Horn] Late in the evening I will meet the head of the International Monetary Fund, Mr Camdessus. He proposed the meeting; I will give him written greetings, a message from Miklos Nemeth, and naturally we will iscuss matters that are of concern to both of us, to the country, and to the IMF. The IMF agreement is of vital importance to us. [end recording]

Nemeth To Pay 1-Day Visit to Britain 13 Dec

LD1112181689 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, is to visit Britain on December 13 on the invitation of Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Mr Nemeth's visit, originally scheduled to last for three days, has been shortened to a single day because of the stormy changes in Hungary's political life. Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs, told MTI that, in view of the current situation, the prime minister decided not to stay abroad more than a day. This week he seeks to take part in the sessions of parliamentary committees to argue in favour of the government's draft budget to be put forward to the December 18 session of Parliament. It justifies the prime minister's presence that Hungary's agreement with the International Monetary Fund, an indispensable condition of preserving the country's solvency, depends on the approval of the draft budget.

On Wednesday, Mr Nemeth is scheduled to hold talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Deputy Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe, John Major, chancellor of the exchequer, Neil Kinnock, leader of the opposition Labour Party, and the head and members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament. Mr Nemeth is to meet representatives of the Hungarians living in Britain, and, in a reception at the Hungarian Embassy, exchange views with prominent representatives of Britain's political, economic and cultural life.

Premier Nemeth on Tripartite Talks, Referendum

AU0612174889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by Dezso Pinter in Parliament on 1 December: "The Premier Gives Interview on the Referendum and the Tripartite Consultations—A New-Type of Political Cooperation"]

[Text] The session of the Council of Ministers held on 1 December also dealt with the upcoming tripartite consultations to be held between the representatives of the National Assembly, the government, and the parties. During the break of the government session, we asked Premier Miklos Nemeth not only about details of this initiative but also about his evaluation of the results of the recent referendum.

[Nemeth] The position of the government during the referendum campaign was that it would not participate in the party-political struggle that accompanied this campaign. Therefore, the government focused all its efforts on guaranteeing the technical conditions for this referendum. We did not fully succeed in this, but one must also take into consideration that this was the first full-fledged referendum in the Hungarian history.

[Pinter] I think that, in view of the fact that the results are already known, there can be no ethical obstacles to the evaluation of this referendum by the premier.

[Nemeth] The Parliament dealt with the questions of the referendum in its October sessions. On the second, third, and fourth question, the referendum confirmed the proposal of the government and the subsequent parliamentary decision. The government had felt already at that time that it was representing the opinion of the majority of society on these issues.

It was much more difficult to evaluate the first question, because it was clear already at that time that the opinions were rather divided in this respect among the circles engaged in political activity. From a political and legal aspect, the government could not find another solution to the contradiction concerning the first question except to propose, in its conditional decision, that Parliament

should consider the results of the tripartite coordination talks but should not close the issue and should return to it in accordance with the results of the referendum. It was impossible to find a compromise equally acceptable to the tripartite agreements and to one of the possible results of the referendum initiated by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Union of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]. The solution that emerged at the parliamentary session was not an optimal one from either a legal or political aspect, but I think that we could do nothing else.

[Pinter] The referendum confirmed the aforementioned division with an almost mathematical precision. What are the present and future political consequences of all these results?

[Nemeth] The government continues to refrain from getting involved in the party-political evaluation of the referendum results. Of course, I also see—and this is obvious to the public engaged in political activity—that the real issue in the first question was not the timing of the presidential election.

All this means that, in order to preserve a peaceful transitional period, we must urgently start negotiations between the representatives of the National Assembly, the government, and the various parties. The National Assembly will be able to avoid further constitutional and legal obstacles that would greatly endanger our political stability only if these negotiations objectively evaluate the political results of the referendum and draw the conclusions that will serve the interests of our nation.

[Pinter] In your speech in Parliament on 21 November, on behalf of the government, you initiated the creation of a tripartite consultation. Why was this necessary?

[Nemeth] My initiative at the time was mainly motivated by our domestic policy situation. I started from the premise that the upcoming tasks of the peaceful transition period make it necessary for the political forces responsible for our nation's destiny to hold regular and genuine consultations on the main issues emerging from our everyday life. I am convinced that, if we continue to regard the fundamental interests of our nation as the guideline of our activity, with their constructive cooperation, the National Assembly, the government, and the political parties responsible for the nation can successfully carry out the urgent tasks facing us today.

[Pinter] Why has the government initiated the tripartite negotiations now?

[Nemeth] I would like to point out at the beginning that, although this initiative was first made in the 21 November report, we held consultations about this with the acting chairman of the National Assembly prior to and after this meeting. Thus, I can say that, concerning its goals and motivation, the initiative to create such a tripartite consultation is our joint proposal made with the acting chairman of the National Assembly. It is all the more so if we consider the fact that we jointly set out the substantial issues, the possible operational mechanism, the proposed points on the agenda, and the specific circle of people to be invited, and thus, we will invite the participants to the first meeting to be held in the coming days in a jointly signed letter of invitation.

The process of democratic restructuring has reached a qualitatively new and more advanced and complex phase which definitely justifies the creation and introduction of action, political, and cooperation forms that have not been applied so far.

As for why the government has made this initiative now, this cannot be an unexpected step in the well-known domestic political schedule. I mean here primarily the referendum on 26 November which made it absolutely necessary to urgently use the opportunities of multilateral consultations, irrespective of the results of the referendum. Of course, we would have had to hold multilateral consultations even if the presidential elections were held in January.

[Pinter] What concrete goals, agenda, and duration do you plan for the tripartite consultation forum?

[Nemeth] The tripartite consultation forum made up of representatives of the National Assembly, the government, and the parties would function during the period until the parliamentary elections, if the participants agree on this. By creating such a forum, we are striving to develop a method of responsible political role for the parties which would contribute to the constitutional and legal character of the transitional period and, at the same time, would strengthen the political legitimacy of important decisions affecting the fate of our nation. Of course, we want to do all this by making sure that nothing can harm the sovereignty of our Parliament. As for the agenda of the talks, it is the political timetable of the period up to the parliamentary elections and the debate on the related major common tasks.

[Pinter] What are the considerations upon which you will select the participants?

[Nemeth] Analyzing several versions, together with the acting chairman of the National Assembly, we came to the decision to invite the parties that are represented in the Parliament and which participated in the political coordination talks and demanded government support. In addition, we invited the heads of political factions in Parliament. Of course, the circle of participants can further be developed flexibly, in accordance with the nature of the tasks.

[Pinter] Can your initiative be regarded as a new political coordination talks?

[Nemeth] One cannot do exactly the same thing twice. Regarding the circle of participants, the agenda of the consultations, their main goals, and their substance, I think it is clear enough that we are not talking here about a new political coordination talks.

Debate on Hungarian Autonomy in Slovakia

AU0512103389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Nov 89 p 3

[Report on telephone interview with Karoly Toth, editor of the Madach Publishing House By Tibor Kis in Bratislava on 29 November: "Democratic Cooperation Is More Important Today—Slovak Debate on Hungarian Autonomy"]

[Excerpts] According to the CSSR media, a collection of signatures has begun among the Hungarian national minority in eastern Slovakia, demanding the creation of an autonomous territory. Our Prague correspondent telephoned Karoly Toth, member of the spokesman body of the recently formed Independent Hungarian Initiative.

[Kis] Who is organizing this collection of signatures, and what is this all about?

[Toth] We would also like to know what this is all about. We tried to get information through all means at our disposal when we heard about the alleged collection of signatures, but we have not found any such initiative. In fact, one cannot even prove that such action is really under way.

[Kis] If this is true, how is it possible that this rumor has spread throughout the entire CSSR by now?

[Toth] It is almost certain that there is some kind of misunderstanding here. There are people who suspect a provocation. I myself think that some people have misunderstood the initiative of our independent group. There is indeed a collection of signatures going on in the areas inhabited by the Hungarian minority, but this is aimed at gathering support for our declaration. We consider the issue of territorial autonomy to be extremely dangerous now. [passage omitted]

[Kis] As part of the national democratic movement, the Hungarian population in Slovakia has also become active in recent days. As far as we know, in addition to your organization, several other groups have been formed, such as the Forum, the Association of Hungarian Students, and the Strike Committee of the Hungarian Theater. Who are the people that have gathered in your organization?

[Toth] There are writers, artists, workers, teachers, and technical intellectuals among our founding members. We had our founding meeting on 18 November. We were among the first to pledge support to the Civic Forum. We are also represented in the coordination plans of the Slovak movement of Public Against Violence. We published our declaration of principles on 24 November.

[Kis] We wish you much success in your activity.

MTI Notes Reduction in Military Budget

LD0512161589 Budapest MTI in English 1137 GMT 5 Dec 89

["The Incredible Shrinking Hungarian Military Budget"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, December 5, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The recently-announced cut in Hungary's Armed Forces will probably mean military expenditures are slashed by 20 percent next year.

The Hungarian defence budget has been shrinking from year to year.

In 1988, Hungary spent 42 billion forints (807 million USD) on defence. This year's military budget was 43.9 billion forints (730 million USD), a drop of 19 percent in real terms, and during the year, even that sum was cut to 39.8 billion forints (660 million USD).

The 37.8 billion forints (590 million USD) envisaged for 1990 mean a further 20 percent cut in the defence budget. This will be done through a hefty troop and arms reduction package.

The recently-announced arms and troop cuts will actually reduce Hungary's Armed Forces by a total of 30-35 percent instead of the 9 percent cut decided on in January this year.

Earlier this year, the Hungarian People's Army mustered 106,800 men, and the aim is to cut this number back to 70,000 by 1991. Compulsory military service will be reduced to 12 months from the present 18.

The number of tanks and artillery guns will be slashed by 40 percent and anti-tank weapons by 20 percent. There will also be fewer aeroplanes.

Medgyessy Interviewed on Economy, Referendum

AU0512112989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Nov 89 pp 1,4

[Report on interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by Szilvia Hamor; date and place not given: "Half-Reforms Will Hit Back—Medgyessy: This Government Can Already Be Regarded as a Professional One"]

[Excerpts] Two events have recently taken place in Hungary which could influence the attitude of the international financial world toward Hungary. One was Premier Miklos Nemeth's announcement of the actual extent of our debts; the other was the referendum. We asked Peter Medgyessy: Will these events change the foreign evaluation of our economy, and what reactions can we expect?

[Medgyessy] Miklos Nemeth's announcement on our economic situation has not changed anything because, so far, we have been repaying our debts and the interest in line with the real amount, and not the acknowledged

amount of debt. Besides, I believe that our foreign creditors were already aware of the extent of our debt, and therefore revealing the actual extent of the debt to the population has not shocked these creditors. On the contrary, revealing the situation only strengthened confidence in this government.

As for the referendum, people abroad were mainly curious to see whether in today's changing world there is a cohesive force in Hungary which provides a sort of scale for the direction of this society. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] Do the current political changes help in any way in international negotiations? Are there hopes for an agreement with the IMF?

[Medgyessy] We have not yet reached the end of our negotiations with the IMF. In my view, the main question is whether the government and Parliament can prove their commitment to economic reforms in practice and whether they will adopt the necessary short-term unpopular measures. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] Is it worthwhile for the government and Parliament to adopt these often-mentioned unpopular measures in the remaining—possibly quite short—period of their office?

[Medgyessy] Since March this year, I have been saying that we must hold elections as soon as possible, because this interregnum that has been going on for months can only bring disarray to the economy and society. However, I do not believe that any responsible leader today could afford to do nothing but wait another 4-5 months. This way, we would only waste time and gain nothing. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ's 'Final Statement' on Referendum Issued

AU0512125989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 89 p 6

[Unattributed report on "final statement" issued by the Executive Presidium of the Association of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) in Budapest on 29 November: "SZDSZ Final Statement—The People Expressed Their Will at the Voting Stations"]

[Text] The Executive Presidium of the Association of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has issued a final statement on the referendum held on 26 November:

"The citizen self-awareness and responsibility toward the fate of our homeland proved to be stronger than the propaganda counting on apathy, deceit, and the obstacles raised by public offices. A convincing majority of citizens took part in the referendum held on 26 November.

"The referendum has created a new situation by easing the fear of public opinion.

"The public had been frightened by the silent majority. The referendum has proven that the majority are not silent and that they have a political will which they want to express in the polling stations, and not on the streets.

"Public opinion has been frightened by the existence of the masses currently being organized by the Grosz party. The referendum has swept away the "four no votes" of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and has proven that the party of the past is not supported by masses of people.

"By postponing the presidential election, the referendum has opened up the way for quickly holding free parliamentary elections.

"The most important task now is for the National Assembly to dissolve itself as early as 18 December and to call elections for the second half of March. On 26 November, the people made it clear that they want an immediate change in our regime and that they reject any attempt to preserve power. One must not play with the people's will.

"All the four 'yes' votes of the referendum should be immediately implemented in order to prepare calmly for the elections.

"There should be no presidential elections, either before or simultaneously with the parliamentary elections. However, in the course of creating the final Constitution of the Republic, the freely elected Parliament could consider the desire of the minority to have the president of the Republic directly elected by the people.

"The elimination of workplace party organizations should be made final, and the party offices should be immediately dissolved in every workplace.

"After collecting the weapons of the Workers Militia, an inventory should urgently be made of their premises, vacation buildings, and other property.

"The Hungarian Socialist Party should publish without delay the full list of real estate and enterprises it owns and operates, noting when and how it acquired them. As soon as it is created, the State Auditing Office should examine this list of properties and decide on the fate of each property on this list.

"No party can monopolize this victory, but every democratic party can make use of the possibilities inherent in this victory. The Free Democrats call upon every political force, including their competitors and opponents, not to miss this unique moment and to let us do everything for free and clean elections in March."

Budapest, 29 November 1989.

The Executive Presidium of the Association of Free Democrats.

Michnik Condemns Anti-Polish Feeling in GDR

AU1212120689 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial by Adam Michnik, GAZETA WYBORCZA editor in chief: "Questions for the Germans"]

[Text] We are passing through an interesting period. The whole of central Europe has embarked on the road of exceptional changes. The question of German unification has been revived. GAZETA WYBORCZA was the first Polish newspaper that wrote openly on the right of Germans to live in their own state and on the fact that the unification of Germany is above all a matter for the Germans themselves. Our pages criticized Honecker's government and supported German aspirations to live in truth and freedom which were being articulated by people belonging to the democratic opposition in the GDR. We were of the opinion—just like the Polish Bishops in their famous letter of 1965—that the memory of the Hitlerite Reich's attack on Poland and the subsequent Nazi atrocities did not mean a judgment that damned the Germans for all time.

Today, this gives us a moral right to put a few questions publicly to the democratic forces in the GDR.

Why do you continue to remain silent in the face of the acts of antagonism toward Poles in the press, television, and in everyday life, instead of publicly distancing yourselves from such acts?

Everyone in Poland expects that you will publicly declare your conviction in the inviolability of the Polish-German border which runs along the Odra-Nysa Rivers. You have the right to your democratic state, and we have the right to secure boundaries. What are we to make of your silence?

Polish-German relations are of critical importance for Europe, and that is why the recent explosions of anti-Polish feeling among the Germans do not only strike at Poland. They strike at the democratic order of Europe and we believe that they strike at the best understood German national interests. We are saying this today when it is not too late—enmity breeds enmity. German nationalism reawakens Polish reactions and emotions which will not serve any useful purpose.

After all, its up to us to decide whether our future is to be based on antagonism or reconciliation.

Daily Editorial Views GDR Developments

AU1212111289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Jacek Moskwa editorial: "Calmly Concerning the GDR"]

[Text] The situation in the GDR is placing all of us, not just the ruling coalition, before a difficult challenge. Obviously, nothing that is happening beyond the Odra and Nysa Rivers can be a matter of indifference to us. Poland started a chain of events that has ended with the demolition of the Berlin Wall. It is no coincidence that this victory was the main point of Lech Walesa's historic address to the U.S. Congress.

The Polish road to democracy and prosperity can only bring success when there is a friendly environment. That is why we observe the events in Czechoslovakia and GDR with warm feelings and approval, and await with hope the continuation of the Soviet perestroyka.

However, events in the GDR have developed with a intensity that was difficult to foresee. The reason for this is something to which people with a greater knowledge of the problem have been drawing attention for a long time. In the GDR, the double thinking that is typical of other countries where there is real socialism has been reduced to a situation of two extremes that borders on the ridiculous. On the one hand, the GDR has officially extolled the thesis about the emergence of a new nation, declared its faith in the principles of Marxism-Leninism in their most dogmatic form, and stated its recognition of the postwar borders and its friendship with other countries, including Poland. On the other hand, most of society, including a major part of the power elite, has been harboring completely different thoughts. The price of this schizophrenia is the violence of the present eruption of tendencies toward German unity, not only national unity, but also political and economic unity. We understand these tendencies very well. However, the reward for years of enforced friendship include an increase in chauvinism, which has been chiefly directed against the Poles. But this we cannot accept.

Polish public opinion is watching this state of affairs with understandable concern. Nevertheless, the reasons behind it have to be considered calmly, mindful of the future. The shopping restrictions applied to Poles were a calculated gesture by a ruling team that is struggling in despair to retain at least a vestige of power. This team decided to furnish its society with scapegoats. These scapegoats are supposed to be members of the previous leadership who indulged in corruption and international scandals on a really unheard-of scale, including Poles doing their shopping. We pointed out these circumstances in an article which, following its appearance in RZECZPOSPOLITA, was cited by the world's press agencies.

The success of this move possesses objective reasons. Polish traders are the curse of a major part of Europe. However, while correctly pointing out the rights of our citizens, the Polish authorities ought to consider whether the Polish customs authorities, which until recently have been distributing misleading literature so successfully, should do something to stop this degrading process. Of course, this does not mean one should stop applying diplomatic pressure on the GDR authorities. In particular, the 25,000 Polish workers in the GDR have the right to lead a normal existence. They are not burdensome guests, but an important part of the labor force. A

mass return of these Polish workers from the GDR to Poland, and such a possibility exists, would be far more dangerous for the GDR than for Poland. Another recourse is an appeal to institutions of international justice.

However, the matter possesses a broader aspect. This conflict, which is really marginal, may nevertheless affect our relations with a future sovereign Germany, regardless of its future shape. It is no matter of indifference how a Western neighbor with such political, economic, and military potential will look.

It is difficult to hide the fact that the manipulation, which has also been reflected in GDR television and the press, has fallen on fertile social soil. It has become a further piece of evidence—there have been others in the past—that a facade of internationalist epithets can conceal chauvinistic and totalitarian currents. East German society has not been through the school of democracy that FRG society has; on the contrary, GDR society has grown up in an atmosphere of conformity, a bandying-about of slogans, and parades. The result of all this is the movement toward democracy that we are presently observing, but also the return of right-wing and totalitarian dreams. In the FRG, refugees from the GDR frequently form the backbone of groups and parties considered to be extremely nationalist, such as the Republican Party. A hasty and unconditional unification of Germany could shift the political fulcrum of the whole of Germany in a dangerous direction.

The new political elites of East Germany are a natural partner for democratic Poland. The leaders of the New Forum, the Christians from the churches of Dresden and Leipzig, and the restless intellectuals and young people may and should create an alternative both to Honecker's dismal Utopia and to the possibility of a new eastern province of the FRG.

It is a paradox that the very people who have brought down the Honecker regime are more strongly attached to the GDR's identity than Honecker's party elite was. Now that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany really is in a state of collapse, its allies lack credibility, and there is increasingly strong pressure for rapid changes, the only solution is for the former GDR opposition to assume responsibility for the fate of GDR society.

If the opposition does so, it should behave like a mature political force. In this case, it should reaffirm the guarantees for the existing borders, and also speak out against the fanning of moods which are dangerous to it. The New Forum has already issued a statement on this subject. There is no doubt that a similar declaration by an East German roundtable could dispel the dangerous moods. As Minister Skubiszewski said in the Sejm on 7 December, "now that the question of unity is emerging, we must insist on a clear and unequivocal stance on the subject of borders." This is addressed to both Germanys.

Sejm Statement on Relations With USSR, FRG

LD1112233689 Warsaw PAP in English 2237 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Statement by Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw. Dec. 11—At its meeting on November 28, Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee got acquainted with the course and results of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to the USSR and stated that they provided a good basis for qualitatively new relations between the two states and nations. The committee approvingly heard a report on the undertaking by the delegation of many still unsolved issues such as the status of Poles in the USSR, regaining of goods of national culture, facilitations of contacts between societies of the two countries, the issue of the so-called "blank spots" including the tragic issue of Katyn.

The committee is of the opinion that the setting up of an inter- governmental or an inter-parliamentary group for the examination of the still unexplained developments of our past would well serve these purposes.

The committee greeted the results of talks pointing to the strivings of both sides aimed at shaping mutual economic relations in such a way which would take into account the changes within the economic systems. The committee supported the strivings to reform the CEMA. We greet with satisfaction the commitment of the USSR to uphold in future the deliveries of raw materials for Poland at an unchanged level.

While very positively assessing the course of the visit, the committee wishes to cherish the hope expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev that "the relations between our countries are becoming better, cleaner and healthier."

Having got acquainted with the course and results of the visit by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the committee states that they can form a solid basis for the new quality of cooperation between the two states and societies. We approve of the agreements concerning economic cooperation between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and its will to support the restructuring of Polish economy.

We want to stress that a declaration unambiguously confirming the final character of Poland's western border and the resignation from the fiction of Germany's existence in its 1937 border would be of great significance for speeding up the process of agreement. This is not only in the vital interest of Poland but in the best understood security and political stabilization of the whole Europe. In this context, we approvingly greet the fragment of the Bundestag resolution of November 8,1989 which says that the right of the Polish people to living in secure borders "will not be questioned by Germans in the form of territorial claims either now or in future." This is a good basis for the development of contacts and dialogue between both parliaments.

Poland invariably keeps up her stance that the German issue can be solved in future only under the pan-European processes, while fully respecting the interests of the neighbouring countries of both German states and while respecting the particular responsibility as well as the rights and duties of four super-powers as concerns the German question.

The reminder of these conditions is of particular significance in the light of the three-stage programme of the re-unification of Germany presented by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn on Nov 28. The committee pointedly upholds the postulate expressed during the talks with Chancellor Kohl concerning the compensations for Polish victims of the Third Reich's policy. The matter is of great significance and moral dimension in the process of reconciliation.

Sejm Delegation Visits FRG 12 Dec

LD1212042189 Warsaw PAP in English 0023 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, Dec. 11—A delegation of the SEJM, led by its Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, came on an official visit to the FRG today at the invitation from Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth.

The delegation started its trip from Bavaria where the hosts immediately drew the guests into working discussions on Polish- Bavarian cooperation. The discussions were held with spokesman for the Bavarian Land Bank Dieter Grass and Bavarian Minister of Economics and Transport August Lang who said: "We want to possibly swiftly reach concrete economic agreements with Poland."

Speaker Kozakiewicz said that Poland would willingly welcome Bavarians in Warsaw and prepare economic offer to satisfy Bavaria's interests.

Foreign Ministry Official on Ties With Israel

JN1212203289 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 10 Dec 89 p 30

[By Fathi al-Barqawi]

[Text] Tunis—Jan Majewski, Polish under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has stated that his country's restoral of relations with Israel will not obstruct the peace process in the Middle East and nor will it affect Warsaw's basic position on the Palestine question. In an exclusive statement to AL-ANBA', Majewski added that this step will enable Poland to play a more positive role by virtue of his country's new policy and position. He noted that Polish officials told Shim'on Peres, Israeli vice prime minister and finance minister, during his recent visit to Warsaw that the Israelis should recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and that no peace can be reached without doing so.

Asked if the fact that most of the Israeli politicians are of Polish origin will affect Polish policy, the Polish official said that this would give his country an opportunity to play a more balanced and new role in the Middle East.

The Polish official denied the possibility that Warsaw would submit to foreign pressures, even though its economy is weak. He stressed that Poland does not link the restoral of relations with Israel with the economic and financial situation, noting that his country does not expect any economic gain from this step. Warsaw's position is governed by the need to adjust its policy in accordance with the new international situation, not at the expense of its friends.

Majewski reacted to statements by Palestinian leaders who expressed their fear of the deep changes in Eastern Europe. He reaffirmed that Arab-Polish relations are historical and deep-rooted. He added that Poland's foreign policy is governed by certain rules and commitments. Any government will work to develop this relationship on every political and economic level. He added that trade between his country and the Arab countries exceeds 1 billion dollars. He described relations with the Arabs as fundamental. He said that the new government in Poland wants to develop these relations, adding that the democratic changes in human rights and basic liberties that brought the new government to power will not allow Poland to change its stance on the just Palestine cause. He said that his people suffered under foreign occupation for 150 years.

The Polish official noted that he confirmed to Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat and the Arab League secretary general during his meeting with them in the Tunisian capital recently that there would be no change in his country's Middle East policy. He expressed, however, his conviction that severing diplomatic relations with Israel for 22 years had not changed the situation in the region and the stalemate had continued.

'Arafat Proposes Warsaw as Site for Israeli Talks

LD1312132589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, suggested Warsaw as the venue for peace talks with Israel. Polish Foreign Ministry Spokesman Stefan Staniszewski, told REUTER that 'Arafat had a meeting with Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski in Tunis and that he had asked him to convey the proposal to Israel. We shall inform Israel that Poland is ready to welcome representatives of both states, Stefan Staniszewski told REUTER.

Geremek Briefs Press on Talks in Brussels

LD0712232989 Warsaw PAP in English 2104 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 7—Bronislaw Geremek returned to Poland today after his several-day trip to Brussels at the invitation from the socialist group at the European Parliament.

"I did not represent the government during my stay in Brussels," Geremek told newsmen at the Warsaw Okecie Airport. "The aim of my trip were political talks with parliamentary groups and the leadership of the European Parliament and of the EC on Poland's current political and social situation," he continued.

"At my talks with all the groups at the parliament I spoke about Germany's reunification. My point of view met with interest and understanding on the part of most interlocutors. The most unequivocal stand was taken by the largest group, that of the socialist parties. The group shared my conviction that the idea of reunification of Germany required Europe's consent and resignation from the fiction of Germany's borders from 1937," Geremek said.

Asked by PAP if his talks with EC representatives included new economic elements, Geremek said that they had focused on the pace of setting the stabilization fund in operation. "Despite some difficulties it should be made available to the Polish Government in early 1990. In the coming days the procedure will be settled under which to use the fund," he added.

Najder Comments on 'People's Spring'

AU0712120289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Dec 89 pp 1,2

[Commentary by Zdzislaw Najder, former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe: "Spring in November"]

[Text] This year, a new spring, a real spring of the people, has occurred in November. If a European had fallen asleep on All Saints Day and woken up on 1 December, he would have woken to a totally new reality and a different historical period.

As recently as the final days of October, we heard news from Moscow about the Brezhnev doctrine being replaced by a "Sinatra doctrine." Just like the song says, "everyone goes his own way" [given in English, followed by the Polish equivalent]. Gennadiy Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, confirmed Hungary's right to leave the Warsaw Pact. Rallies took place each day in every East German city, the GDR Politburo resigned on 8 November, the Berlin Wall was opened up the following day, and in Sofia Todor Zhivkov was forced to step down on 9 November. Then the Czechs and Slovaks surged forward en masse. Jakes had to step down. On 29 November, the Prague Parliament removed the constitutional clause about the leading role of the party. Premier Adamec expressed the hope that the Soviet forces would leave Czechoslovakia. Yet in the meantime Premier Mazowiecki visited Moscow. The direct results of this visit are less than one would have liked, but its political significance is enormous. Here was a recent oppositionist, a member of "Solidarity," and a man of the church being received at the Kremlin with all the honors due to a head of government. He spoke the truth cautiously, but without using incense.

I will not mention the multitude of other momentous events like the announcement of free elections in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, because they are still fresh in our memories. What do they mean for us and Poland?

First, all the Warsaw Pact governments and states are now increasingly "on their own." They are becoming dependent on each other, and have to count on each other. The USSR is demanding less and less, but is neither willing nor able to give fraternal or any other aid. An example is natural gas and crude oil for Poland.

Second, the communist nomenklatura and entire power apparatus in the countries of the so-called socialist camp must stop expecting active support from the CPSU and Soviet state. Now, no one will help the East European Communists like they helped the German Communists in 1953, the Hungarian Communists in 1956, and the Czechoslovak Communists in 1968. And it is no longer possible to point to the East and talk about a "lesser evil," as they did in Poland in 1981. The general's [Jaruzelski's] well-known saying "Poland will be socialist, or it will not exist at all" is now an embarrassing quirk of history.

Third, as soon as they receive the freedom to choose, the citizens of Southeast Europe reject the parties that have ruled them until now, even camouflaged parties like in Hungary. Everywhere, opinion polls show that not even reformed communists have a chance of adhering to power according to democratic principles.

But not all of them have realized that. In Poland many members of the former ruling apparatus are behaving as if they were still entitled to their old privileges. For example, First Secretary Rakowski was offended because the FRG chancellor did not want to visit him inside the Central Committee building. The head of the Polish United Workers Party even referred to "national honor" in this context. But when Rakowski was premier and paid a visit to France, did he visit the headquarters of the ruling Socialist Party? No one does things like that in a democratic country. The same Mieczyslaw Rakowski complains that the "roundtable" accords did not say anything about the "return of capitalism." But he forgets that the party has lost an election since then. Under a democracy, election results are not established in advance, but have to be accepted nevertheless.

Finally, the fourth conclusion. The present distribution of power in Poland is rapidly becoming out of date. The "roundtable" accords blazed a trail to profound political changes not just in Poland, but in the whole of East

Europe. These accords were a compromise that permitted a noncommunist government. However, the domestic and foreign situations have changed drastically since then, and the former "party-government team's" references to the "roundtable" agreements (or to the secret agreements reached in Magdalenka), to the accompaniment of bargaining for ministerial and other seats, is evidence of backwardness.

In view of this change in the situation, it is worth considering another acceleration of institutional reforms. The Czechs, who began after us, are already ahead of us as far as constitutional amendments are concerned. They have abolished the clause about the party's leading role before us. This is not a question of achieving maximum prestige, it is a question of healing Poland's political system and international position as quickly as possible.

I do not think the "roundtable" accords should act as a brake. After all, the "roundtable" was a means, not an objective, just like all negotiations between political competitors. Therefore, it can either accelerate elections or renew negotiations in a different balance of forces.

It is often said, and rightly, that there should be no more witch hunts. But, on the other hand, the witches should not offer provocation, as TRYBUNA LUDU did vis-a-vis Minister Kuron when it accused "Solidarity" of ruining the Polish economy. Humility should take the place of pride. It is said, and rightly, that the help of all capable, experienced, and qualified people should be sought. But this should take place according to new principles, not on the basis of former posts. I think that, most of all, the officers of the Polish People's Army and officials of the Interior Ministry should realize that the state they serve is changing its character, whether or not it changes its official name.

Spring in November is joyous for those who have yearned for freedom for a long time. At the same time, it is a trial for those who until recently defended the winter.

Walesa Urges Emergency Economic Powers

PAP Reports Statement

LD1212185989 Warsaw PAP in English
1654 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 12—The Press Office at the Solidarity leader conveyed to PAP today Lech Walesa's statement on endowing the government with special powers for legal regulation of the most important spheres of economic life in Poland. [sentence as received] The statement reads in part:

The situation in Poland is deteriorating. Time is running out. The credit of social confidence is nearly used up. The changes implemented by the authorities are positive but assessed as too slow. Discussions in the Sejm are detailed but extend legislative procedures.

I propose to endow the government with special powers in the sphere of legal regulation of the following questions: economy restructurization, ownership changes, demonopolization of state and cooperative sectors, taxation system, accounting system, banks' operation, changes of the state structure, territorial self-governments including. In order to make the government's powers efficient, its legal acts must be valid at announcement.

Government's special powers granted by the Sejm should be valid for a strictly defined period of time and relate to explicitly specified range of issues.

I am fully aware of the controversial character of the proposal. But the situation in Poland and growing impatience of society make me voice it," Walesa's statement ends.

AFP Report

AU1212173589 Paris AFP in English
1709 GMT 12 Dec 89

[By Maryan Kafarski]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 12 (AFP)—Solidarity head Lech Walesa issued an urgent call Tuesday for the government to be empowered to rule by decree so it could force through a wide range of free-market reforms.

Analysts said the call was aimed at communist legislators, who dominate parliament and have threatened to block a government- drafted austerity plan seen as a main condition for obtaining International Monetary Fund (IMF) credit for Poland.

Warning that Poland's economy was spiralling downwards and public patience was almost exhausted, Mr. Walesa called for Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's non-communist government to be given "full powers" over a range of free market reforms.

These included: economic reconstruction, changes in property ownership, the break-up of state monopolies and the cooperative sector, tax reform, public accounting, banking and the reform of state and local government structures, Mr. Walesa said in a statement received by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Before the tide of pro-democracy reform sweeping this and other Eastern Bloc countries, full powers were given to Polish communist governments headed by Zbigniew Messner and Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

"Time is running out and the capital of confidence given by the people has been almost used up," Mr. Walesa warned.

Changes made so far were "positive but too slow," the statement said.

Mr. Walesa said he was "fully aware of the controversial nature" of his appeal but he said "the situation now

reigning in the country and the extent of public impatience have forced me into it."

Analysts said the Solidarity leader's call was a warning shot to communist deputies, who dominate parliament and have said they will oppose an austerity plan drafted by the government to try to bring down hyperinflation, already running at 900 per cent this year.

The programme is one of the conditions laid down by the IMF for granting Poland urgently needed loans.

Sources close to Mr. Walesa said he did not mean for his plan to be implemented right away, but wanted to concentrate the political establishment's mind on difficulties and sacrifices Poland will have to make in coming months to switch from a centralized to a free- market economy.

They said he intended to make communist deputies face their responsibilities and pull out all the stops to lift Poland out of the current economic quagmire as quickly as possible.

Mr. Walesa sent copies of his appeal to Prime Minister Mazowiecki and Bronsilaw Geremek, head of the Solidarity caucus in parliament.

"Discussion in the Diet (parliament) is (too) nit-picking. It is slowing up the legislative process and hindering healthy functioning of the economy on the basis of free-market laws", the statement said.

If parliament empowered the government to rule by decree, this would be for "a strictly limited time", with deputies and senators having the "possibility" of making "corrections" to measures adopted by the executive.

Meanwhile Mr. Mazowiecki's government has moved to establish its control over the communist-held interior and defence ministries.

The Solidarity daily GAZETA said Tuesday the government had decided Monday to create a "political committee" for these two ministries with broad powers of "control and consultation".

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak and Defence Minister Florian Siwicki both belong to the communist party, officially called the Polish Unified Workers' Party.

Walesa Support Appreciated

LD1212190289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Statement by Henryk Wozniakowski, deputy government press spokesman; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] The government has not yet had the chance to consider Mr Lech Walesa's statement. One could say that we are pleased with the support Lech Walesa gives the government, and that support is evident in this statement. This is support and trust, because the proposal for such extraordinary powers for the government is an expression of great trust for our government. However, at the moment it is still difficult to say how practical is the proposal. One thing is certain: In some sense an extraordinary procedure will be necessary.

Prison Riots Waning; Situation Viewed

Police Official Interview

LD1112225389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Eight hundred of the erstwhile prisoners who revolted at the jail at Czarne are now in other penal establishments; 700 are putting in order the wrecked wings of the prison and are being interrogated by prosecutors. It has been established that four deaths which occured in the course of the revolt were the results of two lynchings and two shootings For a commentary on the events and this information I turn to our guest, Colonel Jan Swierczynski, press spokesman of the Main Commandant of the Civic Militia (MO).

[Swierczynski] As is known, on the basis of the decision by the government presidium on 8 December, intervention by sub-units of the Militia took place in certain penal establishments. This was the implementation of the resolution of the minister of justice, as we read in the government stance, I quote, made in the face of the violent deaths of prisoners and the threat to the life and health of these persons. The government decision was not only an order for the Militia to undertake specified actions, but also specified its mode of realization. It also specified the permissable escalation of application of means of direct force and also specified, indeed through their enumeration, the technical resources used or otherwise available. I would stress here that in the course of these interventions, the Militia was not equipped with firearms and did not have live ammunition.

[Announcer] Sorry, how is it that two were shot?

[Swierczynski] Well, exactly: We only heard from you a moment ago about this clarification and the investigation will shed light on all of this. I judge that, in all certainty, it was not from the intervening sub-units of the Militia. As is also known, in two cases in penal establishments, that is in Nowogard and also in Goleniow, force was not used as those prisoners revolting gave up in the face of the presentation of our units and the arguments of the officer commanding these actions. On the other hand, an intervention came about in the penal establishment in Czarne, where we used force in the form of two battalions of prevention units of the MO, around 600 people, one company of so-called militia commandoes, 80 people. For this, we also used equipment in the form of three MI-8 assault helicopters, one MI-2 helicopter—that is one equipped with lighting, loudspeaker equipment, and also launchers for gas grenades. You are now looking at training by our commandoes. Gases and a water cannon were also used. As to the action itself in the

penal establishment in Czarne, it ensued on 9 December at 1105 hours [1005 GMT]. It lasted just under 50 minutes; entry into the threatened area was made from three (?points) in cooperation with the helicopters. This was preceded by an intelligence gathering flight and appeals to the prisoners for them to obey the militia demands. After no response was made to these appeals, water cannons and gases were used. After an additional 20 minutes or so, the prisoners in revolt were repulsed from the barricades and from the buildings they occupied. After another 20 minutes or so, the situation was under control. The militiamen also took part in extinguishing fires.

I also wanted to say that, that action was also jointly supported by police roadblocks on the roads leading to the area around the penal establishment, and also by reinforced militia patrols, due to the safety of the population.

I would like to correct information form the GAZETA WYBERCZA that it was not 1,200 functionaries who took part, but, as I said a moment ago, it was about 680. I am also correcting information contained in the RZECZPOSPOLITA that no one was injured, since as many as 36 militia functionaries received injuries, some more some less serious. Fortunately, so far none of them has had to be hospitalized. We also helped to transport prisoners to other penal establishments, for understandable reasons; since there was much destruction and devestation of both premises and equipment. I would probably end with the conclusion that without the MO prevention units, it would not have been possible to carry out such an action.

[Announcer] In any case, you can, with all certainty, once again reiterate that the units you were talking about did not exceed the limits of [words indistinct]

[Swierczynski] As I said, everything was defined in an enumerative manner in the government decision, including the fact that the helicopters could be equipped with a rocket launcher, a gas launcher—I am sorry—floodlighting equipment, as they are professionally defined, and therefore, there is no question of using any firearms, with the exception, naturally, of gas throwing equipment.

[Announcer] One more thing, is there a government representative present at such an action, can someone confirm it?

[Swierczynzki] Please sir, I am only referring to what was there. I can only say that during the course of the revolt, and during the intervention of militia sub-units, representatives of the court and the prosecutor's office were present the whole time. There were also journalists present, as is already know, and naturally representatives of the penal establishment. It all happened with the curtain raised and as you see, it all happened efficiently. Well, there were injuries, and it is a good thing there were not more injuries.

[Announcer] Thank you, Colonel.

Council of Ministers Discussion

LD1312123189 Warsaw PAP in English 0026 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki presided over the debates of the Council of Ministers here today.

Paticipants in the meeting heard a report of the minister of justice, Aleksander Bentkowski on the developments in prisons. The Office of the General Prosecutor has been conducting an intensive investigation into the death of seven prisoners and will define the scope of accountability of the perpetrators of prison unrest.

Vice-Premier, Minister of the Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak discussed the matters pertaining to public security and law abidingness and the changes currently under way in the ministry concerned.

While discussing the presented issues, the ministers stressed that the observance of law and legal order are one of the fundamental conditions of success of the democratic reforms in Poland.

To make it work, needed are further substantial changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution concerning setting up political consultative committees to the ministers of national defence and internal affairs to guarantee the participation of the main political and social forces in examining matters related to the activities of the two ministries.

PZPR's Rakowski Interviewed on Party Unity

AU1212155689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Dec 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by Jerzy Majka, editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU; date and place not given: "We Are a Force That Poland Needs"]

[Text] [Majka] The letters and telephone calls received by our editors and the trips around Poland made by our journalists have produced a considerable number of questions that we would like you to answer. The first questions is as follows: You keep returning to the question of party unity in many of your speeches. There are comrades who believe that your position on this question is, to put it tactfully, old fashioned. They suspect that your calls for unity conceal an attachment to the old, exhausted norms that were created by the democratic centralism that is universally rejected nowadays.

[Rakowski] My calls for the preservation of unity stem from a sober assessment of the situation in which our party has found itself and in which the new party, which,

I would want to believe, will be brought to life by the delegates attending the 11th PZPR Congress, will find itself. There are two reasons for my position on this crucial issue. I believe that our country needs a strong and influential party of the left in order to develop in a progressive direction. In my opinion, the existence of several parties on the left would dissipate energy and may usher in a period of infighting. We do like to argue.

The second reason for my attachment to the idea of unity is that we stand face to face with a political opponent (please note that he should not be made synonymous with an enemy) who, and this is understandable, is seeking to weaken the left. A fragmented left would mean that at least half the battle had been lost. I think that there is a third reason in that the programmatic options of the left have not fully crystallized yet—that is, following the shock of destalinization and the great changes that have taken place. Everyone is seeking self-definition primarily through attitudes toward the past instead of toward the present and the future. The crystallization of options could proceed better and more effectively within one party, by way of debate instead of confrontation, on the basis of substantive arguments rather than under the influence of organizational antagonisms.

My calls for unity have nothing in common with some kind of nostalgia for a party in which a group of leaders, or a leader, arbitrarily define what is right and what is wrong and eliminate any view that is deemed inappropriate.

In urging unity, I am, of course, thinking of unity among reformist forces or, to put it more precisely, among all PZPR members who realize that a certain period is disappearing before their very eyes and that in light of this, we have to look boldly to the future and succeed in effecting a radical break with the thinking and habits that were formed when we were the state party. I think that this is a painful process for many party members, but there is no alternative. Persisting with these habits has to be called by its proper name. I regret to have say this, but there is only one term that comes to mind: conservatism. The party that will emerge from the 11th congress cannot be the product of a compromise between reformist and conservative forces. Recent history has issued a clear-cut verdict on conservatism.

[Majka] That sounds convincing, but one constantly hears it charged that you are an advocate of maintaining unity at whatever price.

[Rakowski] I think that I have already set out my position on this issue with sufficient clarity, but I would perhaps make a few additional observations. We are not talking about a party of the left in general, but about a party of the left within a concrete reality. We know what that reality is. We lost the elections and handed over power to a force that enjoyed the confidence of the majority of society yesterday and enjoys it today; confidence that was not placed in us for reasons that are known. The degree of confidence in us, that is, the PZPR, is currently very low....

[Majka] This also applies to you.

[Rakowski] I realize that, and I have to live with it. That is the way it has to be. There is no point in reminding anyone that my government embarked on the path of radical reforms or that I am held to account for things that were not always of my own doing. It also does not alter anything to point out that I have only been a Politburo member for 2 years, or recall the "unwanted child" status that I had to live with since the end of the 1950's. As soon as I became premier I performed the role of a target at which people took aim having the PZPR and its responsibility for everything that was wrong over the past 40 years primarily in mind. Shortly after the elections I became the subject of particularly virulent attacks from the opposition at that time. I took this calmly. I also cannot ignore the frequently unjust criticism that originated in my own ranks.

However, let us leave this matter aside. I leave it up to my clear thinking, countrymen, and historians to deliver a fairer assessment of my actions. Let us get back to the main subject. I note with concern that over the last few weeks the PZPR has become the target of mounting attacks from—let us put it this way—that part of the radical wing of the former opposition that now supports the government camp. I regret that the idea of waging a struggle is beginning to displace the idea of national accord in various parts of the country. We are receiving indications that hostility toward PZPR members is beginning to manifest itself in work places. I fear that a new party might find itself in a similar position.

These attitudes of intolerance and revenge are in part an attempt to vent feelings stemming from difficulties in dealing with the awkward problems that exist in reality as well as a manifestation of those antidemocratic remnants of Stalinist political practices that still exist not only in the present left-wing camp, but also in that of its adversaries. What can we do to counter the growing attack against the PZPR? After all, words and assurances to the effect that we are democrats are not enough. The only thing that can be done is to launch a cohesive counteraction directed against the offensive being staged by the radicals, fundamentalists, or whatever you choose to call them. If we within the party and the reformist camp begin to fight each other and try to outbid each other in demonstrating who is the greatest reformer, I can assure you that none of us will gain anything.

I would very much like those comrades who have taken to reforming the party with such fervor to channel the same amount of energy into actively defending democratic relations and the democratic conduct of politics, as well as objectivity in viewing the past and reality. One also has to counter the condemnation of the PZPR, the attempts to eliminate the left from Polish national life, irrespective of what it may represent.

Stimulating debate on what the future party of the left should be like is a matter of exceptional importance today, but is also necessary to unequivocally and resolutely defend the good name of millions of members of the PZPR and people without any party affiliations who have worked for decades and created enduring spiritual and material values and ensured that postwar Poland has a good name in the world community. People who treat this task lightly will, once the wave of strong feelings subsides, be undoubtedly ashamed of the attitude that they adopted at a time when courage was a commodity that had not fallen but risen in price.

[Majka] My next question concerns the "roundtable." Do you know about the renewed questions of "whose fault was it?" It is said that the PZPR leadership displayed an excessively light-hearted attitude, that it gave up power too easily, and so on. It is being said that the party wants to hold concrete people to account.

[Rakowski] The question "do you know" is purely rhetorical. I know what is happening in the party. The questions that are being asked appear on my desk every day. I also listen to them during various meetings. I also know who has what sorts of complaints to make about the leadership of the PZPR and I am familiar with the wildest pieces of gossip that are circulating about me. For example, I was recently told that someone had said that Rakowski owns stock in the Gdansk Shipyard and several companies. I replied that I own stock in the Lenin Steel Works, in the "Defenders of Peace" plant, the "22 July" candy factory—which was previously E. Wedel—and in thousands of other enterprises that are national property, and I am, therefore, on the same principles as the other 37 million citizens of the Polish People's Republic.

As for "stock" in companies, that is absolute nonsense. Unfortunately, I have never had much of a head for business. I was more attracted to politics, history, and sociology. Several days ago the Leszno party organization informed me that at one of their meetings someone had said that I own a sawmill in the voivodship. I was told that the source of the information was supposedly the party organization at the sawmill.

Well, that is enough nonsense. The comrades who ask "whose fault is it" should look around themselves at what is happening in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. A revolutionary situation has arisen, especially in the first two countries. Changes are occurring there rapidly, even dramatically. Governments and party leaderships are collapsing amid great turmoil. The level of social tension remains high, and that is inevitable. This is because necessary, inevitable reforms were blocked for many years and the authorities were arrogant in the extreme. As for the PZPR, I think that by coming forward with the proposal of a "roundtable" we responded correctly to a social need. We felt, intellectually and intuitively, that the philosophy of government that we had applied for years no longer had a future.

We had already realized this earlier, but, irrespective of the unfavorable external conditions at the time, the reforms that were initiated in the 1980's were half-measures and did not extend to the causes that gave birth to an economy that is lacking in efficiency and an unproductive political system. There is no point in concealing the fact that the attachment to that philosophy was stronger than the desire to effect radical economic and political reforms. That is the truth, and one has to come to terms with it, but I would also like to say that I am proud of having been one of those members of the party leadership who fought for a bold move forward and won the support of the Central Committee at the Central Committee plenum.

Those comrades who now ask the question "whose fault is it," meaning the loss of power, should finally realize that the people had had enough of the one party monopoly and the inefficient system. What has to be thought about now is what has to be done, once the emotions and passions die down, to gradually recover the lost confidence of the people, who are, after all, committed to the idea of social justice and greatly value a feeling of social security.

[Majka] In your speeches you talk about a two-million-strong party, but we keep hearing that many comrades are resigning their membership of the PZPR.

[Rakowski] The party really does still have two million members. In October PZPR membership fell by 13,344 persons and by 21,412 in November. People have various reasons for leaving: disappointment that the party has handed over power; disappointment with socialism; a feeling of having had enough of politics; wanting to escape into private life; and finally, a wish to change trains. Who is leaving the ranks of the PZPR? In terms of occupation, workers constitute the smallest group. Perhaps, this is because no one can remove them from their posts? However, it is obvious that numbers alone do not really mean anything. Many party members are not active in any way. A lot of comrades have crept off into a corner and are waiting.

[Majka] One counters apathy and attitudes marked by a lack of confidence in the effectiveness of party activity at every turn. Indeed, it is worse than that! People ask whether it is worth being involved in anything at all.

[Rakowski] I also come across attitudes and questions of this kind. What can I say to this? Surely one can only appeal to the the many upright comrades, workers, intellectuals, and farmers not to become despondent. We can still be a force that Poland really needs. Passivity, apathy, wait-and-see attitudes are not the road that leads to the attainment of full satisfaction in life. It is not a choice that leads to success.

[Majka] The election of delegates has aroused a lot of interest in the party. Questions are asked about members of the leadership. Who is standing for election, who is not, and so on....

[Rakowski] The following comrades are already delegates to the congress: I. Lubowska, M. Krol, M. Orzechowski, Z. Sobotka, and S. Wiatr. These are our deputies, who, on the strength of the decision that was made by the Central Congress Commission and subsequently approved by the 16th PZPR Central Committee plenum, automatically become congress delegates once they have received the backing of their primary party organizations. The following are seeking election as delegates: Z. Balicki, W. Natorf, J. Kubasiewicz, L. Miller, M. F. Rakowski, and Z. Swiatek. The following are not seeking election as delegates: W. Baka, K. Cypryniak, M. Gorywoda, M. Holdakowski, C. Kisz czak, Z. Michalek, W. Prykosz, J. Reykowski, G. Rembisz, M. Stepien, and F. Siwicki.

[Majka] Thank you.

PZPR Political Bureau Meets 11 Dec

LD1212104789 Warsaw PAP in English 0018 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11: Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] CC Political Bureau met here today to get acquainted with the report on the course and results of the first stage of elections of delegates for the 11th Congress. Participants assessed the way of electing candidates who will soon run in the elections.

They said that the discussion on [the] party's future and the firm striving to maintain unity were the characteristic elements of the processes under way in the party. The party leadership assessed them positively. The dominant group among the candidates are PUWP members between 29 and 45 years of age.

Political Bureau called on all party members to take part in the elections, to support these candidates who speak in favor of the platform of the 16th plenary meeting and the reforms which led to the modern left-wing party uniting under parliamentary democracy.

The meeting discussed the documents to be submitted to the 11th Congress:

—on the situation in the countryside and food economy.

—on international situation and Poland's foreign policy.

—on problems and development of national education.

The Political Bureau resolved to work out and issue a statement in connection with the 8th anniversary of the introduction of the martial law in Poland.

PZPR Floor Group Cancels 13 Dec Meeting

LD1212144289 Warsaw PAP in English 1324 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw. Dec. 12—The parliamentary floor group of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) cancelled today its meeting scheduled for December 13. The caucus will meet on Saturday, December 16.

Radio Reports State Department Statement

AU1212182489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The United States is concerned about the situation in Yugoslavia. This was stated by Richard Boucher, State Department spokesman, replying to a journalist's question at a news conference in Washington. He pointed to the conflicts between the republics and ethnic groups that constitute Yugoslavia.

It is the opinion of the State Department that mutual respect, acceptance of democratic principles, and avoidance of violence are exceptionally important for solving this situation. Boucher also stated that Washington supports the efforts of Ante Markovic's government to create a market-oriented economy and to advance political pluralism.

DELO Criticizes SFRY Presidency, President

LD0512110189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—It is probably already clear now that the SFRY Presidency cannot fulfill its role of being able to correct things in the political system, as Tito did formerly, today's DELO writes in its topic of the day on the front page, analyzing the communique of the SFRY Presidency.

Eight people, DELO states, are indeed eight diffrent minds, and by Western criteria this is not good for issuing military commands, let alone for a productive autonomous role in a situation such as the one at present in Yugoslavia. So some sort of "insipidness" in the communique issued by the state presidency in connection with the intended protest meeting in Ljubljana and the events after this should not surprise anyone. It is a matter of the collective head of state having in the first instance to protect himself. This he did, but he did absolutely nothing by way of increasing his legitimacy in the political system and among public opinion. Of course a presidency whose president departs on a visit to another country while at home he is defamed—and his vice president during this time convenes meetings "opposing" his federal unit—cannot be taken at all seriously. Whether it is recognized or not, Yugoslavia is being destroyed in its collective "throne".

DELO concludes that many people probably expected a great deal from what the presidency would announce after yesterday's meeting, before Dr Janez Drnovsek departed for Bonn. But it did not have much to say: It supported the endeavours of the federal government, which is mindful of "the new socialism," in other words again something quite unspecific in the current dizzying changes in Eastern Europe. So when will the Yugoslav leadership realize that this time things are serious? DELO writes.

Issue of Legalizing Religious Holidays Discussed

FEC Commission

LD0612162289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] commission for relations with religious communities met today to discuss, among other things, the question of citizens' right to a day off a year to celebrate religious holidays. It was established that according to the SFRY Constitution, religious confession is a free and private matter of each individual, while religious communities are separate from the state and free to carry out religious matters and rituals.

The commission established that Yugoslavia as a state includes several equal religious confessions and citizens are equal in their rights and duties regardless of nationality, race, sex, language, religious confession, education, or social position. Beginning with this, the FEC's Commission for Relations with Religious Communities recommends that in positive work legislation the possibility for citizens to have the right to a day off during the year in order to celebrate religious holidays should be planned.

Croat Rights Group

LD1312103889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2032 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—The Committee for Human Rights and Democratic Freedoms of Citizens of the Croat Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference is asking the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia to take a stand as soon as possible on the widely present demand by general public to make Christmas a holiday.

The right to the freedom of religious confession is guaranteed by international documents to which Yugoslavia is a signatory, as well as being a traditionally based right, it is pointed out in a statement from the committee session. This is a fact on which this body bases its stand on the need to legalize Christmas and similar holidays.

Invoking its legal authorities, the committee suggests that the Croatian SR Assembly should declare Christmas and other religious and confessional occasions holidays or days off.

At the same time, committee members point out that at this key, historical juncture for socialism, it is necessary to legalize a political and multiparty pluralism so as to further affirm human rights and the democratization of society.

It is the committee's assessment that it is a matter of urgency for regulations establishing the ideological and political monopoly of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations to be removed from the Croatian SR Constitution.

The Croat Assembly, as the highest-ranking legislative body in the Croatian SR should draw up a new electoral law on the principles of free, secret, and direct elections.

The commitee supports a consistent application of the principle that citizens should have the right to association for all purposes that do not threaten the freedom of others, and that this right should be the basis for changing the law on social organizations and citizens' associations.

For precisely this reason, a regulation establishing this right should be called the law on citizens' associations. On the basis of this law, the Croat Assembly should adopt special laws: the law on political parties, the law on enterprises as profit-making organizations, and the law on activities of other organizations.

According to the new law, the registration of organizations and citizens' associations should not be conditional on seeking anybody's opinion or agreement, meaning the permission of sociopolitical organizations or state organs, it is said in the statement from the session.

Organizations with political aims should register with the appropriate local courts.

Activities of organizations and associations may be banned only in cases where their platforms, statutes, or activities are contrary to the law, and this should be carried out via a valid court decision, the statement of the Committee of Human Rights and Citizens' Democratic Freedoms of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference says in conclusion.

Further Reportage on Serbian-Slovene Dispute

Poll on Situation

AU1212154889

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 11 December on page 6 carries an approximately 3,000-word report, entitled "Sad, Stupid, and Dangerous," on an opinion poll carried out by BORBA's research center on the dispute between Serbia and Slovenia.

BORBA polled 300 people, 50 from each of the six republics, who were randomly selected from the telephone directories.

The following table shows the results of the poll.

"Views According to Republics"—in percentages

1. How do you see the dispute between Serbia and Slovenia?	
Socialist Republic of Slovenia:	
1. As something sad, stupid, and dangerous	52
2. As power struggle	18
3. As Serbia's fault	15
4. Something else	15
Socialist Republic of Croatia:	
1. As something worrying	28
2. As both republics' fault	16
3. As power struggle	12
4. As Serbia's fault	10
5. As something in which Slovenia was right	8
6. As something made unnecessarily complicated	8
7. Something else	18
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. As a quarrel between republican leaderships	74
2. As Slovenia's fault	8
3. As a consequence of nationalism	6
4. As futility of political system	6
5. Something else	6
Socialist Republic of Macedonia:	
1. As Slovenia's fault	38
2. As both republics' fault	30
3. As something that has roots in economy	18
4. As manipulation of people	14
Socialist Republic of Montenegro:	
1. As Slovenia's fault	78
2. As something inherited from history	8
3. I do not know	8
4. Something else	6
Socialist Republic of Serbia:	
1. As fault of current policies toward Serbia	78
2. I do not know	10
3. Something else	12
2. What could be the effects of this dispute on Yugoslavia?	
Socialist Republic of Slovenia:	
1. In any case bad	56
2. I do not know	18
3. Disintegration	6
4. Something else	20
Socialist Republic of Croatia:	
1. In any case bad	78
2. Hopefully everything will be fine	8
3. I do not know	8
4. Something else	6

Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. In any case bad	50
2. Further deterioration in relations	20
3. I do not know	10
4. Positive for Serbia	4
5. Creation of confederation	4
6. Something else	12
Socialist Republic of Macedonia:	
1. Separation	30
2. In any case bad	20
3. Deterioration of economic situation	20
4. Foreign intervention	6
5. Something else	24
Socialist Republic of Montenegro:	
1. In any case bad	60
2. In any case good	24
3. Something else	16
Socialist Republic of Serbia:	
1. In any case bad	30
2. Disintegration	30
3. I do not know	20
4. Fratricidal war	8
5. Confederation	6
6. Positive	6
3. How can the dispute be solved?	
Socialist Republic of Slovenia:	
1. Through an agreement and relaxation	35
2. Through SFRY Presidency intervention	15
3. I do not know	13
4. Through political means	8
5. At the federal level	8
6. Through democratic means	6
7. Something else	15
Socialist Republic of Croatia:	
1. Through an agreement and work	56
2. I do not know	10
3. In a legal way	6
4. By changing leaderships	6
5. Something else	22
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina: [figures as published]	
1. Through talks	34
2. By replacing and arresting leadership of both republics	28
3. I do not know	12
4. By strengthening Yugoslavia	6
5. By changing Constitution	4
6. By introducing centralism	4
7. Something else	10
Socialist Republic of Macedonia:	
1. Through harmony and respect	20
2. By changing leaderships	16
3. Through agreement between two leaderships	12
4. By creating a new, democratic SFRY	10
5. Something else	42
Socialist Republic of Montenegro:	
1. In a peaceful way	66
2. I do not know	18
3. By repression	16
Socialist Republic of Serbia:	
1. I do not know	32
2. With repressive measures	18
3. Through understanding	16
4. By strengthening federation	8
5. By changing system	6
6. By returning to Serbia what belongs to it	4
7. Something else	[no figure provided]

Trade Union Issues Stand

AU0712194089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The stands of the Presidium of the Trade Union Federation Council adopted at the end of the Presidium's session held yesterday were released today. The Presidium of the Trade Union Organization of Yugoslavia suggests that the leaderships of Slovenia and Serbia should meet as soon as possible and, in cooperation with federal organs, find a way out of the current situation. In the view of the situation in Kosovo and the suffering of Serbian and Montenegrin people in this province, the Presidium asked the Trade Union Council to offer its full commitment with a view to providing everybody with high-quality and objective information on these problems. The Council Presidium of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia demands that the Federal Executive Council submit a report by 27 December at the latest on reasons for the latest price increase and the measures it will undertake to bring inflation down.

Kosovo Association on Meeting

LD0812115589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The idea, initiative, and all the subsequent practical moves for holding the meeting of truth in Ljubljana were exclusively our concern—The Presidium of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, the Committee of the Association, and the association itself. Not a single political forum, from the local community to the Republic of Serbia, had any connection with this, and not one of them was able to assist us in implementing the idea to hold a meeting nor prevent its holding. Thus, any imputation or connection between us and the Serbian leadership over the organization of the meeting is only a continuation of the anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav policies on account of which we wanted to go to Ljubljana.

This is stated in a letter which the Presidium of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo sent to the SFRY Presidency, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, and all the leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia; these leaderships are keeping silent as the country is burning, or equate the proclamation under duress of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference with the separatist moves of the Slovene leadership.

The letter says that the proclamation of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium represents simply a logical conclusion to what the Serbs and Montenegrins have been suffering for decades in Kosovo, and also a fully expected move by the leadership which cares for its people, the preservation of their dignity, and for Yugoslavia and Serbia within it. What else could be expected from a leadership which was elected by the people? [passage omitted]

Daily on 'Economic Egoism'

AU1212101589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed commentary: "Slovene Egoism"]

[Text] If by banning the meeting of truth in Ljubljana, Slovene politicians have manifested in practice their interpretation of democracy they have been advertising so much, then by making the recent constitutional changes and introducing asymmetry into the Federation they have ultimately revealed that Yugoslavia interests them only as a market into which they can sell their goods on a favorable basis. They have also expressed their economic egoism in their view about financing joint federal institutions. They will earmark for these institutions as much as the Slovene Assembly decides they should and in doing so,—on the basis of the amendments to the Republican Constitution—the assembly is not obliged to accept agreements reached by the other members of the Federation.

Many Slovene enterprises consider the Yugoslav market to be a "golden hunting ground" on which one can earn well and onto which one can transfer losses incurred in selling goods abroad. A product of a Slovene firm can often be bought in Austria or West Germany at half its price in Yugoslavia. All this is made possible thanks to the closed up and carefully protected domestic market, a long period during which our money was losing value, and the far from low subsidies granted to exports to foreign markets on which—according to the latest known researches—only slightly over 40 percent of our commodities reach more favorable prices than in the country.

Slovenia has taken advantage of this kind of benefits in the best way, because its share in the Yugoslav exports has already reached almost 30 percent. The other side of all this can be seen even better if one knows that the lobby of politicians from this republic working in federal organs is extremely strong and that their influence on forming the Yugoslav economic system has been strong and sometimes decisive for decades. One should only remember what opposition was coming from them at the time when the foreign exchange system was being changed, the system which had mostly preferred final producers giving them almost all foreign exchange and leaving it to their will whether producers from other part of the country in the production chain will be given some foreign exchange to meet their needs.

Treating the rest of the Yugoslav territory as a cheap source of raw materials is a special form of economic egoism. On many products from other parts of the country, Slovene enterprises only put their labels and prices. As a rule, those goods are sold at a higher price, in order to successfully maintain the "image" of being better. In fact, in many cases we were facing the worst kind of monopoly which could exist and survive only within the closed Yugoslav economy.

Whenever the federal government tried to intervene in the domestic market by importing finished products, Slovenia objected saying that it is better to give foreign exchange for raw materials and production materials in order to increase production in the country. The commodity goods imported at present are of such a kind that domestic monopolists have no reason to fear them. On the contrary, the expensive imported goods only wet the appetite of our producers psychologically and then they increase their prices daily following the example of imported products.

When Ante Markovic received serious warnings from various parts of the country to the effect that he must do something against inflation or people will withdraw their confidence, Slovene politicians made public statements in support of the government. If any one of our federal units can be said to have on the whole gained from the inflation, it is above all Slovenia. After all, let us recall the campaign launched from that republic against the previous government when Branko Mikulic revealed in an interview that, thanks to the inflation, there had been

a redistribution of the national income to the detriment of other parts of the country.

The best illustration of that redistribution are the data on earnings. In 1985, the average Yugoslav personal income amounted to 74 percent of an average earning in Slovenia, and in 1988 it barely reached somewhat over 65 percent. Last year, earnings in Serbia proper did not reach even 60 percent of Slovene earnings, the figure for Kosovo was somewhat under 44 percent, and the figure for Macedonia a few decimals higher than the Kosovo one. Last year, average earnings in Montenegro totaled a mere 48 percent and in Bosnia-Hercegovina 55 percent of Slovene ones.

Is it not clear from these figures who has profited from the inflation?

In order to avoid manipulations with the rumors about Slovene productivity, one should add here that differences in productivity are smaller than they are usually thought to be. According to statistical data for 1987, the productivity of economy in Serbia proper was 29 percent lower than in Slovenia. However, as productivity is measured according to the prices reached on the market, this difference is even smaller, because goods of the same quality but bearing Slovene labels are in most cases more expensive. Moreover, this difference in productivity is also made relative by a law in Serbia obliging firms to employ new labor force. That makes it impossible to many enterprises to plan their employment policy by considering their internal economy and productivity.

All in all, when the attitude of Slovene politicians toward the rest of Yugoslavia is concerned, one can certainly speak about a clearly defined and complete political and economic philosophy. Many emotional and other links that connected the Slovene people with other Yugoslav peoples, and Serbs in particular, have been forgotten or reduced to a mere formality. Slovene politicians have reduced everything to a mere economic interest, completely disregarding the fact that in all harmonious and prosperous state communities in the world nations and the people are linked by many other threads.

Slovenia's Sinigoj Views Debate

AU1312104289 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 11 Dec 89 pp 168-173

[Interview with Slovene Premier Dusan Sinigoj by Klaus Reinhardt and Renate Flottau in Ljubljana; date not given: "We Have Good Nerves"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, can Slovenia live without Serbia?

Sinigoj: If it has to, it certainly can.

DER SPIEGEL: Is it still possible at all to patch up the break between Serbia and Slovenia?

Sinigoj: Our firm attitude has found great support in all parts of Yugoslavia, more than we ever had before. I think that the progressive forces in Yugoslavia will now manage to achieve a breakthrough. It will be achieved faster than expected, even though the Serbs do not want to support it.

DER SPIEGEL: Nevertheless, the power struggle between the two republics threatens the unity and stability of the Yugoslav federation.

Sinigoj: This is not how I see it. It is rather an attempt of the one side, which believes that it has a monopoly to truth and can force its will on everybody else.

DER SPIEGEL: Serbia has appealed to all companies and cultural institutions to suspend their relations with Slovenia. Do you not think that this will affect you?

Sinigoj: This stick has two ends. Appeals of such a kind are of short duration and only exacerbate a tendency that has existed for a long time anyway. Moreover, our economy is rather directed at international markets anyway.

DER SPIEGEL: Well, but there are not only controversies between you and Serbia, but even with the other republics, because the Slovene Parliament has adopted a new Constitution, according to which your country distances itself from the other Yugoslav republics. Has now everything changed in Slovenia?

Sinigoj: I hope it has—and this applies for all of Yugoslavia. What is particularly important to us is that by amending our Constitution we will implement an economic system that is guided by the principles of the market economy, that is open, and that offers the opportunity to have different forms of ownership: state, cooperative, and private ownership. In addition, we want to promote the independence and responsibility of the individual enterprises.

DER SPIEGEL: Yet political changes are also at stake, are they not?

Sinigoj: Of course they are. We want to implement political pluralism, and thus promote the process of democratization of all spheres of life.

DER SPIEGEL: The SFRY Defense Ministry has not recognized your new Constitution. Do you have to expect a military coup?

Sinigoj: This sounds very dramatic. It is true that the Defense Ministry has made critical remarks concerning our constitutional amendments. We have discussed these openly and in a democratic way in the Slovene Parliament, and we arrived at the conclusion that this criticism is unfounded. Now the SFRY Constitutional Court must settle this dispute. You see, things can be settled even without a coup.

DER SPIEGEL: The Slovene Constitution was amended in six points; Slovenia can now for example decide on its political and economic fate in a sovereign way, and it can now discontinue the membership in the Yugoslav association of states. What did you gain by this?

Sinigoj: The Federal Constitution establishes that each republic and autonomous province has to take care of its own economic development and, at the same time, also for the joint development, in other words for the development of the federal state. Our federal order was drawn up according to this pattern. We cannot imagine a state with a centralist economic order. However, in practical terms this means for the economy that the republics must be able to dispose of the income they earned. I am convinced that this is the only possible form of the market that works for all of Yugoslavia.

DER SPIEGEL: Serbia obviously wants to return to a unity state in the style of Tito, with centralist control, and a strict leadership, whereas Slovenia is aiming at pluralist democracy with a liberal economy. However, the two concepts do not go together well.

Sinigoj: Well, I do not quite see it that way. It is not just a question of Serbia or Slovenia. There are progressive tendencies in the economic development in all of Yugoslavia, and everybody is in favor of abandoning the system of the state economy. However, the old viewpoints also persist, viewpoints that cling to state institutions and the centralist state economy.

DER SPIEGEL: Is it a question of hardliners against reformers?

Sinigoj: One must not draw such a clear-cut dividing line, because many things are only just now developing. Besides, there are a few reforms that were adopted by the federal government in Belgrade, with which we absolutely agree, but there are others with which we do not—that is life. Our concept for more democracy has triggered a lot of protest in Slovenia, but subsequently our ideas were adopted by other republics.

DER SPIEGEL: If the individual republics were to be granted as much independence as you are demanding—what is it that would still hold Yugoslavia together?

Sinigoj: Together we must agree on the things that are common to us by way of discussions and not by giving orders. This is how the federation makes sense in my opinion.

DER SPIEGEL: In a democracy, which Slovenia demands, decisions are made by the majority. Is the majority on your side within the Yugoslav state presidium, in the federal parliament, and in the Central Committee of the party?

Sinigoj: No, it is usually not. Many proposals Slovenia makes call for solutions that are not yet accepted by the others. This does not only involve the centrally-controlled economy, but also the prerogatived right of the central authorities to force their will on us. It takes time and understanding to comprehend all this and to draw the necessary conclusions.

DER SPIEGEL: What happens if Slovenia fails to win over the others to its side?

Sinigoj: Then we can resort to the instrument of the right to veto, and in special cases we can reject giving our support. Then a consensus has to be found.

DER SPIEGEL: However, the other republics also enjoy this right.

Sinigoj: Of course they do, this is why they obstruct us so often. For example, look at the controversy over the federal budget. Slovenia has to make the greatest contribution to the budget; although we only constitute 8 percent of the SFRY population we provide 20 percent to the national product, and we even account for one-third of all exports to Western foreign countries.

DER SPIEGEL: Does Slovenia reject the way these financial means are distributed?

Sinigoj: We do not reject this distribution, but we reject that money is spent from the federal budget for the most diverse things with hardly any control. We, the republics, have nothing else to do but to pay.

DER SPIEGEL: To avoid being subject to somebody else's will, Slovenia has offered the other republics an "asymmetrical federation." What does this mean in political practice?

Sinigoj: The main question is whether it is possible to draw up a single policy that does justice to all the peoples and republics, which are in very different stages of development and have very different views and ideologies. I do not think it is possible. Take for example the development fund for underdeveloped areas. We have paid millions of dollars into it without seeing any results.

DER SPIEGEL: Well, does "asymmetric federation" then mean that you sort of accept existing differences without making an attempt to eliminate them by all means?

Sinigoj: This is right. We must accept the differences between Slovenia and Macedonia, or between Croatia and Kosovo. We must live with these differences and discuss what can be changed. However, we reject the view that the more advanced republics must wait for the others to reach their level. This would be a step backward for all of us.

DER SPIEGEL: You have always advocated a free market economy. Production and prices should be regulated in free competition on the basis of the principle of supply and demand. Do you think that such a concept that is conceivable for the rich Slovenia can also be successful in the poorhouses of Kosovo or Macedonia?

Sinigoj: Yes, I think so. However, one cannot apply the system of indiscriminate distribution that would provide for small investments everywhere. Slovenia has established several joint ventures in Kosovo. Thus, we have created 13,000 new jobs in 4 years, and none of the enterprises produces losses. We have good experiences.

I would even say that a faster development in these regions depends on the implementation on the free market economy—with purposeful and useful initial aid by the developed republics.

DER SPIEGEL: The comrades in Belgrade have recently described the Slovene party leadership as "counterrevolutionaries guilty of high treason." The former Albanian party leader of Kosovo, Vlasi, is currently standing trial because of the same charges. This reminds one of the inquisition. What can you do against this?

Sinigoj: This is a big problem for us. I have a certain advantage if I think about such things. I was born in Mussolini's Italy and know from my own experience what it means to be persecuted for national reasons.

I am firmly convinced that problems in Kosovo cannot be solved with violence but only with the greatest possible political caution, prudence, and tolerance, and by examining all possibilities for a common life. This applies both to the Albanian, the Serbian, and the Montenegrin population.

DER SPIEGEL: How would you solve the problem? Would you grant Kosovo the status of an separate republic?

Sinigoj: I do not rule this out.

DER SPIEGEL: What will happen when the Yugoslav Constitutional Court rejects the amended Slovene Constitution as unconstitutional? Will Slovenia accept the ruling or will it secede from the confederation of states?

Sinigoj: Every insinuation that the Slovenes intend to withdraw from the Yugoslav state is political speculation, a spiteful speculation, to make it clear.

DER SPIEGEL: What specifically will happen when the Constitutional court says no?

Sinigoj: We do not expect the constitutional court to pass such a ruling. We believe that an objective and professional decision will be made. However, if this is not the case, the Slovene parliament will again discuss the changes and our reasons. We have good nerves.

DER SPIEGEL: What would have to happen so that Slovenia would consider itself forced to leave the Yugolsav confederation of states? Can you imagine such a scenario?

Sinigoj: This would be the case if Yugoslavia would embark on a path that leads back to Stalinism. However, I do not see such a danger.

DER SPIEGEL: For the time being, democracy with a multiparty system that you have been demanding with such vehemence and the free market economy exist only as a plan that has not yet been implemented. When will you get a new party law that will also allow the opposition to participate in elections?

Sinigoj: I think the opposition will be able to participate in elections in the spring.

DER SPIEGEL: Slovenia has long wanted to join the EC. Would you dare to take this step alone in case of need, without the other republics?

Sinigoj: This is not possible. However, we are making intensive efforts to establish closer links between our economy and the EC.

DER SPIEGEL: What specifically are you doing?

Sinigoj: We call it the internationalization of the Slovene economy. We have made the greatest efforts to make it possible for great internationally renowned firms to come to Slovenia, such as Siemens, IBM, Iveco, and Renault. Most of these companies work on the basis of joint ventures, and both sides make considerable profits. In this way we are integrated in the European market and the world market.

11th Croat LC Congress Held in Zagreb, Results

CC Session Sets Agenda

LD2411134489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The Croat League of Communists Central Committee [LC CC] met today to consider proposed documents for the coming 11th congress of the Republic's communists. [passage omitted]

During the procedure to establish the session's agenda which, it seems, will be entirely devoted to the preparations for the congress, Dusan Dragosavac, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, asked about an initiative undertaken by the Croat LC CC to ask the LCY Central Committee urgently to discuss the situation in both the LCY and in society, in general. Dragosavac believes the situation at the moment is "critical and the leadership has lost the power of influencing socio-political processes."

Dragosavac also wanted to know what the Croat leadership had done vis-a-vis both the SFRY and the Slovene leadership in light of announced demonstrations in Ljubljana and reports in the press that entry into Slovenia will not be allowed. Dragosavac also referred to a media report that citizens from the Croatian Socialist Republic had also announced their intention to take part in the meeting and asked what implications this would have for intra-national and intra-confessional relations in the Croatian Socialist Republic and for its relations with Slovenia. Could this lead not just to undesirable incidents but also to bloodshed? Should we sit back calmly and watch attempts at Kosovising these two republics?

Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croat LC CC Presidium informed the plenum that the Croat LC yesterday repeated its call for the LCY Central Committee to organize a debate on the situation in the LC and in society by the end of the year. Dragosavac's proposal to amend the agenda with a report and debate on the planned meeting in Ljubljana was unanimously accepted.

The session was then continued by Mirjana Pocek-Matic, member of the Croat LC CC presidium, who said that during the public debate the Croat LC membership had accepted and positively assessed a proposed report on the work of the Croat LC CC and its organs in the period between the 10th and 11th congress. The document was considered to have reflected a democratic concept promoted by the leadership. In some environments the report was criticized for its long-windedness. The report was accepted with no further discussion.

Dragutin Dimitrovic, Croat LC CC secretary, continued the session by informing the plenum about the outcome of a public debate on the Croat LC's program document. According to him the main directions of the Croat LC's activity in reforming the society and the LC have been endorsed but not without criticism. The document, which runs to some 30 pages, proceeds from the view that the LC must approach our crisis from the need to reform socialism. The program document outlines fundamental directions of a social reform including standpoints on the developmnt of the forms of ownership, on the freedom of assembly for citizens, on the development of self-management, federalism, and of an assembly system.

The second part of the document sets immediate tasks facing the LC including a reform of the LC, the development of the concept of a Yugoslav synthesis, equality and development of intra-national relations, defeating inflation and the republic's economic and social development. [passage omitted]

Marin Buble, the first to speak in the ensuing debate, said that the proposed program had been subjected to unprecedented criticism by experts and professional public while, on the other hand, it was applauded by the political public. In his view, the proposal of the main directions of the Croat LC's activity is based on three unfounded stands. First, the system of ownership has been devised in an inconsistent, unclear, and uncertain manner. Second, there is no clear stand on what kind of political pluralism the Croat LC advocates, and finally, there is no indication of how the LC will carry out demonopolization of its position in society.

Buble concluded by saying that this was an indication of the state of consciousness in the Croat LC which, although advocating changes, is not capable of executing them. [passage omitted]

In reference to proposed changes in the LCY statute, Zorica Stipetic called on the Croat LC CC to reiterate its previous stand on the issue of 1-year mandate for the post of president of the LCY CC. She also suggested that the issue of the role of the president of the Central Committee of the republican LCs and of the president of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army should be regulated by the LCY statute and not by the book of rules for the work of the LCY CC Presidium. Her suggestion was accepted. In reference to Zorica Stipetic's first proposal, Stanko Stojcevic said that the LCY CC was in favour of a 2-year mandate but that an initiative by the Croat LC CC on the need for a democratic and widespread debate among the membership on candidates for the top office was accepted. [passage omitted]

In the course of the debate, Croat LC CC member Ognjen Krstulovic submitted his resignation today, on the grounds of his essential disagreement with the proposals for the statute and the basic program document for the Croat LC Congress. In his explanation, Krstulovic referred to Article 44 of the Croat LC statute and said that he was withdrawing from the Croat LC leadership because he could not accept responsibility for the implementation of its policy.

In a lengthy explanation, Krstulovic voiced his disagreement with the "erasing," as he put it, from the draft congress documents of the vision of the struggle for a classless society, the substitution of "the rule of labor with the rule of capital," and the fact that they do not provide more concrete answers to the question of how the LC, as a revolutionary party, is to wage the struggle in this phase of development and for the achievement of a comprehensive system of socialist self-management. [passage omitted]

Congress Opens

AU1112092489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The highest Croatian party meeting has opened in Zagreb. The key topic of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists is the basic directions of the activity of the League of Communists of Croatia on the reform of society and of the League of Communists. Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium, will make the introductory speech. After adopting the rules of procedure and electing working bodies, the delegates will discuss the report on the work of the Central Committee and its organs between the two congresses, report on the work of the statutory and the control commission, as well as amendments to the party statute. The delegates will also elect members of the organs of the League of Communists of Croatia, candidates for members of the organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as delegates to the 14th extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Stojcevic Reports

LD1112214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0137 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—The 11th Croat League of Communists [LC] congress, which is taking place in extremely tense political circumstances, is expected to delineate directions of the Croat LC's activity in implementing the reform of self-managing socialist work, to come up with plans for the further development and prosperity of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia, and to assume stands on the development and prospects of the SFRY by its commitment to fulfilling the documents of the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] extraordinary congress.

This was said, inter alia, by Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, who this morning opened the 11th Croat LC Congress. The congress is taking place in the congress hall of Zagreb Fair and is expected to last 2 days.

According to him, there is a diversity of approaches to end views of the current crisis and ongoing processes. This diversity stems from realistic interests and differences and the ways they are being implemented. Social consciousness, however, is dominated by an attitude to the social crisis which reflects topical conflicts and accusations. We must heed the present state of affairs but solutions will be found only by a more profound analysis of the nature of the developments which determine our behavior and signify the present juncture. We see it as our duty to act locally while thinking globally.

Therefore, the 11th Croat LC Congress must approach the Yugoslav crisis in the way which will prevent it from wasting energy on conflicts and clashes and instead focus on fundamental issues of reform. At the same time effort must be invested in finding answers to the problems of development and prospects for the SR of Croatia, of socialism and its prospects as well as of the development and future of the SFRY. This at the same time is the key issue of reform of the LC itself, since all these goals can be achieved only by a transformed LC in conjunction with all democratic and socialist social forces operating in pluralist circumstances.

Having noted that ever since the present Croat LC Central Committee took office there has been an awareness of major changes in the world and of the fact that the present model of socialism has been exhausted and cannot meet the challenges of present-day development, Stojcevic added that the need has crystallized for a definite—not just ideological but also practical—break with the model of bureaucratic-etatist socialism. Reform would mean a break with such a model of socialism; it would create space for freedom and equality, individualism, and innovation. Democratic socialism must be judged by the attained degree of freedom, equality and by the quality of people's life. We see socialism as a democratic, creative, pluralist society, as a dynamic and open social process in which man is both the criterium and the goal.

It is clear that despite the existing lack of understanding and strong resistance, there has in recent years been evidence in the SR of Croatia of a prevailing reform-oriented consciousness and attitude. The SR of Croatia is using the new attitude and views as a weapon to fight bureaucratic crisis. Its openness towards the world as well as its reliance on its own cadre and other potentials are a new quality which can serve as the departure point for getting on. Moves have been made to restructure the economy and to resolve complex social problems created by it.

The fact is, Stojcevic added, that the operative implementation of reformist ideas has been rather slow in the institutions of the Croat LC system. Crucial realistic cadre, material, and other limitations on reform are great. At the same time it is true that the speed at which reforming changes are carried out increasingly depends on events outside the SR of Croatia. This, above all, refers to the political situation in Yugoslavia which has considerably deteriorated due to aggressiveness and the onesidedness of individual national programs and to attempts to restructure political relations so as to suit narrow national interests.

The Croat LC has never been in a dilemma that common problems in Yugoslavia cannot and should not be resolved by raising the stakes and by pressure. An acceptable Yugoslav synthesis should be developed through common efforts and on the basis of realistic interests. In our orientation we have always proceeded from the fact that modern development depends on cooperation and competition and that struggle against monopolies and exclusiveness is a civilizing task which is in our interest. Without victory for this principle there will be no opportunity for modern development in the SFRY and all its socialist republics and peoples.

For over 2 years now, since the Eighth Croat LC Central Committee session, we have been warning that conservative forces are ready to drag the Yugoslav people into conflicts of unforseeable consequences with the sole purpose of maintaining the positions of monopoly and power by resurrecting and consolidating the outmoded model of a dogmatic policy and ideology. At that time these warnings were not taken seriously enough.

Today it is clear to many that the struggle for the exclusiveness of national interests, in a hegemonistic and separatist form, has become the trademark and an external component of conservatism and that its goal is totalitarianism and the monopoly of power. Activities from positions of a policy of ethnic homogenization and ethnic divisions are aimed at fomenting nationalism in all environments while at the same time denouncing the forces of reform as nationalist and isolating them within narrow ethnic bounds. The rift and disintegration of Yugoslav society would be used to discredit all that which represent the common interest and needs of everyone in the SFRY, all that provides an opportunity for development, all that which can help to integrate Yugoslavia, as a modern democratic, socialist and law-governed state and society, into modern European and world trends. The goal is clear: to halt democratic processes and suppress reformist moves in all environments.

The Croatian LC, Stojcevic stressed, has taken a clear stand on the temptations of a narrowly ethnic program and the policy of protest meetings and demagogy, which have also imposed themselves on a section of the public in the SR of Croatia, with the hesitant appearance of the forces of division and hatred. The Croatian LC has not been ready for relenting and making concessions, which would endanger the vital interests of working people and citizens of the SR of Croatia and its constitutional position but also the position of the Croatian LC as an independent and equal part of the LCY. Our response was a turning toward the individual—his know-how, initiative and competence; and

to his rational activity in cooperation and togetherness. We have tried to lead each individual into conditions in which, together with others, he will be an active participant in social development and be responsible for his own and overall prosperity....

Our reform position and the program of development of the SR of croatian starts from the interests and needs of working people and citizens of this republic and expresses the continuity of the principled national policy of the communist party of Yugoslavia or rather, the LCY. Our activity reflects the conviction that there is neither an SR of Croatia nor a Croatian LC does not start from the interests and the equality of all citizens of the SR of Croatia. Politically-speaking, here we must remain clear and consistent. Unless we do, we would bring into question the bases of AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) and of the Community of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia, in which the SR of Croatia and the SFRY were created and developed. This was our point of departure and this was our interest in formulating a policy of Yugoslav synthesis....

Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, went on to recall that in the Croatian LC approaches had gradually been built up which, despite powerful resistance, have been incorporated into the reform processes in society and the LC. The Croatian LC has made a special contribution to the development of the concept of economic reforms, the democratization of internal relations, cadre policy and elections, and the strengthening of the overall reform line in the LCY. A crucial juncture was the first LCY conference at which there was a victory for the reform line within the LCY. It signified a break with some key ideological dogmas. The strategic guidelines for the social reforms were established....

Debates on the reform of the economic system, accompanied by a great many more open questions, are being replaced by concrete practice. However, the profound reform-orientated interventions in the economy which are the result of the policy and measures of the federal government, remain overshadowed by the pressures of high inflation and its influence on the social position of people. Hence it is essential, on the basis of the already created reform-orientated preconditions of the federal government and also of other subjects of economic policy, to come to grips in a more powerful way with the inflation so that the generally accepted course of reform of the Federal Executive Council is not brought into question.

Stojcevic devoted a significant part of his speech to the process of changes to the political system and the formation of a pluralist democracy, pointing out that it is developing more slowly and is accompanied by much resistance. This is also indicated by empirical research of public opinion in the LC, as well as the debates which are being conducted. Consciousness of socialism as a pluralist society and of the historical exhaustion of monistic socialism has been formed slowly. The perception that the unblocking of the creative potential of people and of the modern development of production forces is not possible without a major expansion in freedom and individualisation, has not been respected....

Conflicts and clashes on a national and anticommunist basis, out of which processes with anticivilization characteristics could be born and are being born, have had an effect on the attitude toward political pluralism. Graduality in the creation of preconditions and institutions for the functioning of political pluralism, has been conditioned by the state of consciousness and relations in the LC and society. The perception that the present situation of the LC could change primarily in the conditions of political competition and that this is vital for its transformation into a modern political organization, in other words a force for reform and democratic socialism, has had difficulty in getting through....

Our concrete conditions, from the achieved level of development of production forces, to democratic and other values, requires respect of what are world trends and what are the values of our present day development, accompanied by recognition of the limits of our unsatisfactory degree of development. Hence our advocacy of political pluralism cannot merely be reduced to a multi party system. Parties are an element of pluralist democracy, but the political life of modern society cannot be reduced to party- political life.

The essence of modern development lies in the process of individualization, in releasing human potential, in free expression of individual interests, and not in transferring individual rights and powers to advocates of collective interests or in collective neglect of an individual. Our political system must start creating potential for the expression of differing interests of people and for their influence in the process of political decisionmaking.

In view of this we shall work towards ensuring that the new Constitution contains provisions for the creation of a political system which, in addition to different parties and differing associations and movements reflecting citizens' political interests, will also include the forms through which the working people will be able to express their self-managing interests. Changes of this kind require, inter alia, a profound transformation of the SAWP and of other socio-political organizations.

There is no democratic socialism without political pluralism which stems from the right to political association and from competition between equal political entities and programs. This is a strategic orientation which we advocate. Social processes are developing in that direction and this should be reflected in the new constitution. Until it is adopted, solutions must be applied which, within the framework of the existing, will facilitate development, open up democratic dialogue about possible resolutions, and provide conditions for democratic transition to circumstances as will be outlined by the new constitution. It is evident that a transitional period will be needed in the meantime....

There is a need for consensus based on the fundamental values of democratic socialism and for strict rules binding on all political entities. Otherwise, the introduction of pluralism may lead to disintegration, political anarchy, and new authoritarianism. Everyone must be aware of this, and especially political entities with whom the responsibility for this lies. Constitutions cannot be drawn up and adopted overnight or through shortcuts; they can netiher be adopted as a response to dictates nor pressures exerted in contravention of the constitutionally defined democratic procedure, which guarantees freedom and argument in the debate on the way to arrive at best solutions. A constitution can be suspended, as an emergency measure for the benefit of an authoritarian regime....

In Stojcevic's view, democratic socialism also requires a different position of the LC. This requires that the LC transform itself into a modern political organization which, starting from the basic socialist orientation of an equal approach to resources vital for the development of people, fights for the support of working people and citizens. In these conditions the LC cannot avail itself in advance of the guaranteed right to a leading role; it must win its position on the basis of equality with other political subjects, and confirm it by the democratic verificaiton of its program and by the positive social effects of its progressive policy.

This is why, in the program document for the 11th Congress of the Croatian LC we advocated that the a priori assumption of the leading ideopolitical role of the LCY be dropped from the Constitution....

The LC is at the same time developing as a movement for self-management.... The LC recognizes its social basis in the structures of the industrial working class, agricultural producers, as well as in all creative and innovative strata of society, which are interested in achieving their interests, accompanied by equality in the approach to the vital resources of their own realization, [as received] and which in self-managing and democratic relations recognize the optimal element of their and social development....

The president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, went on in his very extensive introductory report to point out that the development and prospects of the SFRY today have a key place in our conceptual realization of the future....

The SFRY has based its stability and prosperity on the basis of AVNOJ and on the skill of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, or rather the LCY, to create, in the contradictory conditions, bridges of linkage and integration. This practice and especially the work of Josip Broz Tito and his capability of responding to the challenges of his time—is our inspiration and an achievement which should live today as well so that we might preserve, strengthen and develop the SFRY. It is only on the basis of AVNOJ that relations and the future of the SFRY can be built.

The SFRY's prospects are linked by us to the reforms which, by overcoming impediments and by developing democratic socialism, will strengthen these AVNOJ bases. The open reform-orientated processes carry with them the potential of transforming the SFRY into a modern and prosperous, democratic socialist state.

What is blocking the reform processes, Stojcevic stressed, are indeed inflamed nationalisms and their exclusivity. Current events confirm all the foundations for the warnings and assessments that it is only the SFRY which can destroy the stirring up of nationalisms. We are threatened by a repetition of splits and clashes and the channelling of human energy into intranational hatred. Today when these dangers have become threats which make every citizen anxious and when euphoria has taken hold of many people in all environments, for the LC the question is raised as to whether it has the strength, wisdom and maturity to clear up nationalisms and, together with other democratic and socialist forces, realize the model of democratic socialism, as a vision of a better life together and the progress of all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

Too much of this is happening, and nationalism has been incited to such an extent, Stojcevic specified, that no one can remain free from responsibility for halting and destructive processes which are going on. Starting from this assessment and understanding that such developments will increasingly block the process of reform and the scope for democratic agreement for the purpose of making quality preparations and achieving the success of the 14th Extraordinary congress of the LCY, the LCY Central Committee requested, at its 30th session, the holding of a session of the LCY Central Committee on the current political and social processes which are impeding democratic dialogue and negotiation on the elaboration and promulgation of the orientations toward reform, and stimulate confrontation and division in the SFRY and the LCY. Events have shown the justification for our request, and for our dissatisfaction with the fact that this session, despite repeated insistence on it, has not so far been held.

We are profoundly conscious of our responsibility for the state of intranational relations in the Socialist Republic of Croatia but also of the obligation for us to take, precisely because of this, a clear stand too vis a vis those policies which are greatly exacerbating intranational relations in the SFRY. This relates, Stojcevic assessed, to political activity which has led to the current extremely dangerous antagonism between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. We believe that the situation is so dramatic, and the consequences could be catastrophic, that today the most important thing is to call an urgent halt to the further exacerbation of this. If the interrepublican conflict between Serbia and Slovenia were to continue, it is inevitable that it would grow into an intranational conflict.

Independently of the motives, ultimatums and the breaking off of economic and other links and the serious accusations and threats, they are a direct attack on the country's constitutional order and on its economic and political

integrity. If the LC, with the democratic and socialist forces from these environments, does not halt these processes, the opportunity will open up for an even more dangerous escalation of nationalist forces in the politics of those forces which continue this conflict, or do not wish to stop it. This would then mean a victory for the forces whose aim is the destruction of the SFRY and of the basic and common interests of all its nations and nationalities. We cannot agree with this and this is why we are requesting that this political situation in the conflict between the republics be stopped without delay, and resolved by the affirmation of the activities of the institutions of the SFRY, as the only way to arrive at acceptable solutions. The orientation toward the SFRY is confirmed by the recognition of legitimately elected federal structures, the SFRY Constitution, and the law. It is only on this basis that it is possible to prevent splits....

Recalling that the Croatian LC in its program has taken a clear standpoint on how to further develop the Yugoslav socialist community, Stojcevic specified that modern Yugoslavia can exist and develop only on the basis of AVNOJ, and this means as an equal community of freely associated nations and nationalities and their socialist republics, created by the free will of the people on the basis of their lasting and inalienable right to self-determination, including also the right to secession.

We energetically oppose every proposal which leads to the abandonment of the AVNOJ conception of the Yugoslav Federation, and to the introduction of relations of inequality and the restriction of the sovereign rights of the socialist republics.

No one has the right to dictate whom working people and citizens in individual republics will elect into their leadership, or as their legitimate representative in the Federation. To accede to such a policy, Stojcevic pointed out, would mean accepting separatist-hegemonistic criteria for the settling of relations in Yugoslavia. We are aware that in each socialist republic of ours we have different processes and different problems, but we are also sure that forces exist which will go into battle against all the barriers to the implementation of our united strategy of reform, as a strengthening of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing model.

Stojcevic at the end also analyzed questions about the further development of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the role and position of the croatian LC within it.

The crisis in many aspects has brought to the surface dissatisfaction, and every radical move has ascribed the failures exclusively to the LC, and especially its leadership. We are not fleeing from criticism aimed at dogmatism and inefficiency in the LC, designed to fully free what has blocked, or is now still blocking, the development of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. What we reject are criticisms directed at the Croatian LC containing the basic accusation that we are insufficiently protecting national interests or that we are causing the deterioration of intranational relations and that this is a characteristic of our communist movement....

Peace, prosperity and the stability of the Socialist Republic of Croatia are also achieved by the struggle against those forces which see Croatia as a testing ground for the settling of intranational scores. There is, and nor can there be, any compromise with nationalism. The development of the Socialist Republic of Croatia is possible only as a law-governed democratic state of all its citizens, as a national state of the Croatian people, and a state of Serbian people in Croatia, and of all the nations and nationalities living in it. The basis of the Socialist Republic of Croatia is made up of all its citizens, free and equal, with the obligation that in the Socialist Republic of Croatia as their own state, they find fulfillment and contribute to its development and stability.

Our program of changes does not presuppose that there will be a mass of unemployed, and any fear about this is merely the expression of antireform orientations. The path to the greater quality of life and changes accompanying it cannot be to the detriment of our socialist ranges of solidarity. What we renounce is false solidarity, support for riots, laziness and other forms of abuse. There is no alternative to the policy of the LC here.

Our prospects and development, Stojcevic judged, depend in the first instance on us. The awareness of this in the Croatian LC is ever greater, regardless of the powerful blows to which we are exposed in Yugoslav relations or competition in the world. The Croatian LC places this awareness of itself and of the scope and responsibilities for its own development in the center of its development program. Hence we call on all working people and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Croatia to demonstrate their attitude and duty towards the Socialist Republic of Croatia, above all in the strengthening of its economic power, cultural development and its political stability. In order to achieve this, it is vital that in the upcoming elections those who can take action to change the unfavorable circumstances and open up the prospects for the development and stability of political and social circumstances in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, recieve trust. Given this orientation, the Socialist Republic of Croatia has a clear path and prospects.

Here too, lie the prospects for the Croatian LC. We call on you so that at the 11th Congress we might outline this in a more powerful way and, departing from here, we might be the bearers of clear visions and orientations, important for the prosperity of all nations and nationalities and for the peaceful and more prosperous life of all working people and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The Croatian LC is going to the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress with the firm conviction that the forces of reform and of a democratic socialist model in the LCY will overcome the forces of regression and bureaucratic socialism.

With the implementation of our program visions, we will be able to make our contribution to strengthening and developing of those principles and values on which the SFRY is based, as our common state and homeland, Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, concluded.

Resignation of Leadership Called For

AU1112150989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia opened in Zagreb this morning. Here is a report by Dragoljub Pavicevic and Vesna Knezevic:

Delegates of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia needed almost 2 hours to adopt the proposed agenda and agree on procedural questions. The beginning of the congress itself was rather absentminded, ranging from the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia who incidentally forgot to greet Todor Bakovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro, to the rather heated debate on the rules of procedure and the agenda. After the working presidium was elected, Drago Dimitrovic, who chaired the first plenary session, suggested an agenda consisting of 13 items. After Dimitrovic finished his speech, the first delegate who expressed wish to speak was Ivan Dzibic.

[Begin Dzibic recording] In the situation in which one-third of the membership is leaving the party, the present leadership has lost the mandate to propose anything, including the agenda. The only thing it can offer the congress is its resignation, and only with this can the congress begin.

However, what is the present party establishment doing? Instead of being hauled on the carpet before the congress for the catastrophic situation into which it brought both the party and society, a day before the congress it plays tricks: It organizes a meeting with the Slovene leadership and proposes early parliamentary elections within a month. It does not have its own program, but tries to save itself in a chameleon fashion by flirting with the initiatives of the so-called alternative movements. Our attitude toward the so-called alternative movements is another thing and that is not our subject at the moment. [end recording]

After Dzibic, Mile Klepo, Vesna Lukadinovic, and Stipe Oreskovic made similar speeches. Delegate Mile Klepo suggested that the topic of the congress be changed to the transformation of the League of Communists into a political party of a democratic society. Only four delegates of the 11th Congress voted in favor of his proposal.

The debate on the rules of procedure lasted unexpectedly long. (?Zrnka) Novak, later supported by Stipe Oreskovic, suggested that congress delegates should vote for the release of the each one of the Central Committee members. This proposal was also rejected by vote.

Ivan Dzibic then made a reproach to the congress again by saying that the working presidium was elected before time and that one should have first adopted the rules of procedure and only then elect the working presidium. Nevertheless, after all this, all proposals of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia contained in the congress documents were adopted.

Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia, made the introductory speech. [passage omitted]

Elections Proposed

LD1112105889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, today opened a plenary session of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee at which the proposal was made to hold Croatian LC elections as early as January 1990. The plenum agreed that this proposal should be discussed at tomorrow's League of Communists Congress.

"At Drusan Dragosavac's proposal, the list of candidates for delegates at the 14th extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress was extended by a further five former League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee members. These are Milka Planinc, Ante Markovic, Stipe Suvar, Jospi Vrhovec, and Djuro Nemet, who were stripped of their League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee membership in accordance with the criterion of the division of state and party functions. Dragosavac pointed to the unsatisfactory national and social structure of the proposed candidates for the organs of the Croatian League of Communists and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, something which will certainly be discussed at the congress, as similar objections have already been heralded by some municipal organizations and delegates.

"The Croatian League of Communists Central Committee late tonight, without discussion, also confirmed the resignation of Ognjen Krstulovic from membership of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee, which he submitted at the last session as a result of his disagreement with some important political stances in proposed congress documents."

Congress Continues

AU1212093289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia is continuing in Zagreb. In the morning, the congress will work in commissions. A plenary session is planned for this afternoon at which candidacy procedure is expected to be carried out, amendments to the statute discussed and adopted, and new organs of the League of

Communists of Croatia and members of the organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from this republic elected.

BORBA Poll on Situation in Kosovo

AU0212133189

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 13 November on page 6 carries an approximately 3,500-word report by Slobodanka Bakic, entitled "Force Against Force," on an opinion poll carried out by BORBA's research center on the current situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

BORBA polled 280 people, 40 from each of the six republics and 40 from Kosovo. All 280 people were randomly selected from the telephone directories.

The following two tables show the results of the poll.

Table 1. "Views According to Republics"—in percentages

1. What are the causes of the Kosovo drama?	
Socialist Republic of Croatia:	
1. Political	51
2. Economic	20.5
3. I do not know	20.5
4. Bad interethnic relations	8
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. Wrongly conducted policy	58
2. Economic and other underdevelopment	20
3. Lack of unity and religious intolerance	6.5
4. I do not know	6.5
5. Something else	9
Socialist Republic of Slovenia:	
1. Economic underdevelopment	54
2. Badly conducted policy	22
3. Bad interethnic relations	16
4. I do not know	8
Socialist Republic of Montenegro:	
1. Badly conducted policy	48
2. Historic reasons	16
3. Issues of a complex nature	11
4. Divisions	7
5. Something else	18
Socialist Republic of Macedonia:	
1. Wrongly conducted policy	48
2. Disharmony, nationalism, separatism	23
3. Economic reasons	19
4. Influence from outside	10
Socialist Republic of Serbia:	
1. Wrongly conducted policy	44
2. Economic underdevelopment, backwardness	17
3. I do not know	15
4. Albanian emigres and influence from outside	12
5. Something else	12
SFRY:	
1. Political reasons	45
2. Economic reasons	22
3. Interethnic relations and lack of unity	10
4. I do not know	8
5. Something else	15
2. How would you stabilize the current situation in Kosovo?	
Socialist Republic of Croatia:	
1. Through understanding and agreements	32.5
2. In a peaceful way, without applying force	17.5
3. I do not know	17.5
4. With political means and by changing political leadership	15
5. Something else	17.5
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. With emergency measures and force	23
2. I do not know	19
3. It is impossible to stabilize it	14
4. Through dialogue and togetherness	14
5. Something else	30
Socialist Republic of Slovenia:	
1. I do not know	44
2. By lifting the state of emergency	17
3. With political and legal means	15
4. By stopping Vlasi's trial	11
5. Something else	13
Socialist Republic of Montenegro:	
1. With emergency measures	37
2. By punishing or expelling irredentists and Albanian immigrants	19

3. By bringing experts in, and through joint Yugoslav action	15
4. I do not know	12
5. Something else	17
Socialist Republic of Macedonia:	
1. With emergency measures	36
2. Through joint Yugoslav action	19
3. With political means	14
4. By renewing the Kosovo leadership and extending support to Rahman Morina	12
5. Something else	19
Socialist Republic of Serbia:	
1. By introducing stricter laws and implementing them more consistently	50
2. With emergency measures	20
3. By expelling immigrants and regulating the birthrate	12.5
4. I do not know	10
5. Something else	7.5
SFRY:	
1. With emergency measures	19
2. I do not know	17
3. Through understanding and agreements	8
4. With political means	7
5. Something else	49
3. How would you permanently solve the situation in Kosovo?	
Socialist Republic of Croatia:	
1. In a peaceful way and through joint agreements	34
2. With political measures	23
3. I do not know	20.5
4. With economic measures	18
5. Something else	4.5
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. Through economic development	25
2. Through political education and changing people's conscience	14
3. Through a dialogue and political means	14
4. I do not know	11
5. Something else	36
Socialist Republic of Slovenia:	
1. Through a development policy	57
2. I do not know	22
3. With political means	17
4. With more prudence and mutual understanding	4
Socialist Republic of Montenegro:	
1. By resettling people from Kosovo and by regulating the birthrate	27
2. Through economic development	14
3. Through education and ideological measures	12
4. I do not know	12
5. Something else	35
Socialist Republic of Macedonia:	
1. With emergency measures	19
2. By changing political entities	14
3. Through a gradual, independent way of solving problems	14
4. Through joint Yugoslav action	12
5. Something else	41
Socialist Republic of Serbia:	
1. By applying force and emergency measures	22
2. Through a consistent application of law and political measures	22
3. Through development and economic measures	15
4. By reducing the birthrate	11
5. Something else	30
SFRY:	
1. With economic measures	22
2. With political measures	15
3. I do not know	11
4. Through joint agreements	8
5. Something else	44

Table 2. "Kosovo About Itself"—in percentages

1. What are the causes of the Kosovo drama?	
Albanians:	
1. I do not know	45
2. Wrongly conducted policy	35
3. Backwardness and economic underdevelopment	20
Non-Albanians:	
1. I do not know	40
2. Wrongly conducted policy	30
3. Nationalism	20
4. Lack of unity	10
Average:	

1. I do not know	42.5
2. Wrongly conducted policy	32.5
3. Economic underdevelopment	10
4. Nationalism	10
5. Something else	5
2. How would you stabilize the current situation in Kosovo?	
Albanians:	
1. By lifting the state of emergency	50
2. I do not know	35
3. By solving the unemployment problem	15
Non-Albanians:	
1. I do not know	30
2. Through joint actions	25
3. This would be difficult to achieve	15
4. Let Serbia find a solution	10
5. Something else	20
Average (all figures as published):	
1. I do not know	32.5
2. By lifting the state of emergency	25
3. Through joint actions	12.5
4. This would be difficult to achieve	7.5
5. By solving the unemployment problem	7.5
3. How would you permanently solve the situation in Kosovo?	
Albanians:	
1. With economic and political development	35
2. I do not know	35
3. By respecting the majority in Kosovo	30
Non-Albanians:	
1. Through joint actions	35
2. I do not know	25
3. Let Serbia find a solution	20
4. This would be difficult to achieve	15
5. Something else	5
Average:	
1. I do not know	30
2. Through development	17.5
3. Through joint actions	17.5
4. By respecting the majority in Kosovo	15
5. Something else	20

Kosovo Assembly 4 Dec Session Viewed

LD0512101389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—At their first session of the new convocation, delegates of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] Assembly today elected Djordje Bozovic president of the Assembly. Bozovic received 84 votes, with the other candidate, Stanoje Dogancic, receiving 59. Ilijaz Ramaili and Hakija Hadrovic were elected new vice-presidents of the provincial Assembly. Cemal Sahadzio is the new president of the Assembly's Socio-Political Chamber; Ali Sahini of the Chamber of Associated Labor; and Zivojin Bodzic of the Chamber of Municipalities.

In a secret ballot at their joint session, delegates re-elected Hisen Kajdomcaj president of the Kovoso SAP Presidency. The following were elected members of the Presidency: Pjeter Kolja; Musa Janiku; Mehdi Djakova; Radenko Krulj; and Pavle Vasic.

Rade Zvicer and Petar Jaksic who were also candidates for members of the Presidency, failed to gain the necesary votes in a repeated ballot. Instead two new candidates will shortly be put forward for the remaining vacancy in the Presidency.

In an open ballot, Jusuf Zejnulahu was elected president of the Executive Council of Kosovo; Djordje Aksic and Mazlom Beca are new vice-presidents of the Executive Council. Another 14 members of the provincial government were also elected today. They are: Tomisav Sekulic; Rasida Muhovic; Slobodan Bojic; Jusuf Karakusa; Rifat Zulufi; Sevcet Cana; Radman Milosavljevic; Lek Berisa; Seljadin Skeja; Muhamet Bicaj; Lek Vuksani; Radovan Vujovic; and Isa Mustafa. [13 names listed, as received]

At the beginning of the constitutive part of today's session, the delegates were addressed by outgoing President of the Provincial Assembly Vukasin Jokanovic, who informed them that he had received an invitation from Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly, to attend a session of the Slovene Assembly on 27 November. Jokanovic stressed today that, although the Kosovo drama had been going on for several years, he had never before received such an invitation, nor had Potrc ever addressed a desire to visit Kosovo. I received the invitation at the time when the meeting of the truth had already been announced with the aim of acquainting the Slovene people with the misery to which the suffering people of Kosovo have been subjected for years. [passage omitted]

The Assembly of the Kosovo SAP strongly rejects conclusions reached by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on 27 November, Jokanovic said, adding that Kosovo needed no such help.

Democratic Initiative Branch Set Up in Kosovo

LD0812112689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0006 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—The new branch of the Association for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI) was this evening founded in Pristina, the capital of the southern Yugoslav province of Kosovo.

This is the first alternative association in the province, which is part of the Republic of Serbia. Albanian separatists in Kosovo have been striving to secede the province from Yugoslavia and annex it to neighboring Albania. After the unrests of ethnic Albanians last November and this March, emergency measures were introduced in Kosovo. The ban on gathering and demonstrations is still in effect in the province.

The platform of UJDI, which does not wish to become a political party but only to take part in finding an option acceptable to the whole country, was signed by 80 members, the majority of whom are Albanian intellectuals.

Journalists Veton Suroi was appointed president of the UJDI Kosovo branch. Philosopher Shkelzen Malici also became member of the UJDI branch. [passage omitted]

RILINDJA Report

AU1212212089 Pristian RILINDJA in Albanian 9 Dec 89 p 8

[B.S. report: "Branch of Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative Founded"]

[Text] After founding branches in a number of cities in every republic and in Vojvodina, the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] also founded a branch in Pristina the evening before last. The inaugural meeting was planned to be held in one of the halls of the Boro and Ramiz Center, and the booking was paid for. Nevertheless, the group was denied the hall following the intervention of the Pristina Communal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], and the meeting was held in a cramped room at the Writers Association, where the majority of the approximately 100 interested citizens had to stand during the 2-hour session.

After outlining the AYDI manifesto, Dr Zarko Pohovski, chairman of the Executive Committee of this Zagreb-based association, told those present about the need to form such an association and about its aims, stressing that the AYDI is committed to the establishment of Yugoslavia as a democratic and federal community and a community of citizens and federal units. He stressed the fact that the AYDI refuses to operate within the SAWP, because it is not prepared to comply with the rules the SAWP lays down. No speech at any time mentioned socialism. Representatives of AYDI branches, such as Dr Nebojsa Popov from Belgrade, Gajo Sekulic from Sarajevo, and Vladimir Milcin from Skopje, then greeted the inaugural meeting.

After the membership forms had been filled out, and about 80 individuals, mostly journalists, university lecturers and teachers, doctors, economists, lawyers, and a few students joined this first alternative group in Kosovo, it was evident from the list that members included some individuals against whom the League of Communists had taken ideopolitical measures, or who were against the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The inaugural meeting elected the Executive Committee of the Pristina branch, consisting of four Albanians and two Serbs. Veton Surroi was elected chairman, and delegates were appointed for the founding assembly of the AYDI at Yugoslav level, shortly to be held in Sarajevo. A declaration announcing the Pristina branch was then approved.

New Pristina Youth Leadership Elected

LD2411100489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Summary] Pristina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Today the electoral conference of the Pristina Federation of Socialist Youth elected Goran Radenovic president of the Presidium of the municipal conference. Members of the Presidium were also elected, as well as delegates for the Kosovo Provincial Conference and for the republican conference of the Serbian Federation of Socialist Youth.

FEC Discusses Militia Units in Kosovo

LD2511235289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] at a session today, presided over by Ante Markovic, discussed a proposal by the Slovene Assembly Executive Council that, within its authority, it should look into the reasons for the participation of militia units from the socialist republics and provinces—within the composition of a combined militia unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs—in the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province.

The FEC established that the combined militia unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which was formed following a decision by the SFRY Presidency on 21 October 1987, in its activity and a consistent realization of tasks established with this decision, together with the Kosovo organs for internal affairs, considerably contributed to preventing and curbing hostile Albanian nationalist and separatist activity; and particularly to curbing mass hostile demonstrations; as well as that it continues to contribute to curbing and preventing all forms of hostile activity in Kosovo.

It was also established, the FEC Secretariat for Information said, that members of the combined unit from the internal affairs organs in all republics and Vojvodina in their activity and consistent realization of tasks, together with the Kosovo internal affairs organs, contributed to

increased level of citizens personal and property security and to carrying out other security affairs.

The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has regularly and punctually sent decisions of the SFRY Presidency and other documents related to carrying out these decisions to all republican and provincial Secretariats for Internal Affairs. The Secretariat has regularly informed the FEC about the activities and results of the joint unit. The FEC discussed and positively assessed these reports. The number of members of the combined unit, in accordance with the development of the security situation, has been reduced by more than 60 percent since March this year.

At today's session, it was assessed that the security situation in Kosovo remains difficult and complex, with the ever present aspiration of separatists to undermine not only Kosovo, that is the Serbian Socialist Republic, but also Macedonia and Montenegro, and that their ultimate aim is to undermine the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. In this, the activity of foreign intelligence services and a hostile section of Yugoslav emigration is very pronounced. This is an all-Yugoslav problem. The danger of mass threats to public order and peace, directed against undermining and bringing down the constitutionally established order of Yugoslavia, remains present.

In given conditions, the internal affairs organs of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province are still not capable, in terms of their cadre, to independently and successfully oppose aggressive forms of the activities of Albanian separatists, foreign intelligence services, and extremist Albanian emigration.

Though the constitutional and legal authorities of the Serbian Socialist Republic are now clearer and more concrete, in such a complex security situation, the republican organs cannot independently oppose these hostile activities in Kosovo territory and without the involvement of members of internal organs from other republics and Vojvodina, as well as the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs responsible for carrying out duties according to the Yugoslav Presidency decision.

In this connection, the FEC concluded that in curbing hostile activity on the territory of Kosovo, in particular from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, it is still necessary to consistently carry out the tasks of state security established by the decision of the Yugoslav Presidency on 21 October, 1987, including the stay and activity of the combined militia unity of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. In the composition of the combined militia unit, it is still necessary to include workers from the internal affairs organs of all socialist republics and Vojvodina Province, who through their presence and work also contribute to increased individual and property security of Kosovo citizens and to the united activity in curbing hostile behavior.

In the period ahead it is essential to constantly monitor the security situation and the number of members of the combined militia unit, as well as adapt its tasks to developments in the security situation. Special attentions should continue to be devoted to the specialist training of the security cadres in Kosovo so that in the conditions of the normalization of the security situation the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs might responsibly carry out the security tasks within its competence.

At the request of the Executive Council of the Slovenian Socialist Republic Assembly, the FEC at today's session acquainted itself with the security implications of the organization of the scheduled public gathering in Ljubljana on 1 December. In this connection, the FEC pointed out that on the basis of the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and provinces, the holding of public meetings is regulated by the laws on public gatherings adopted by the republics and provinces, so the competent organs in the republics and provinces are the only ones empowered to grant approval for, or ban, the holding of meetings. The decisions of the competent organs of the republics and provinces are legally binding for everyone to whom they relate and the state organs are obliged to implement them.

The FEC pointed out that according to the Yugoslav Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and provinces, the republics and provinces are responsible for the preservation of order and peace in their territory.

Bearing in mind the constitutional responsibility of the FEC for the situation in all areas within the competence of the federation and also by virtue of this the security situation throughout Yugoslav territory, the FEC has obliged the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to take all measures within its legal authority and, in cooperation with the competent organs in the republics and provinces, to preserve public order and peace throughout the whole territory of the country and protect the citizens' personal and property security throughout the whole territory of Yugoslavia and to inform the EC of the measures which it takes.

Considering a report on the problems of the inflow of funds paid into the federal budget, the FEC stated that those obliged to pay money into it are late in performing their obligations. This relates in particular to the payment of turnover tax, which has resulted in a dislocation in the financing of federal functions, including the function of the Yugoslav People's Army.

This is why the FEC has taken measures to have this problem resolved as soon as possible, or rather to secure funds with which to finance the Yugoslav People's Army function.

Smederevo Foundry Workers Go on Strike

AU1212211089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Some 400 workers of the foundry that operates within Fagram of Smederevo have gone on strike. The cause of the work stoppage is Fagram's intention to get rid of a part of the collective whose debt at the moment amounts to about 9 million Deutsche marks. [passage omitted]